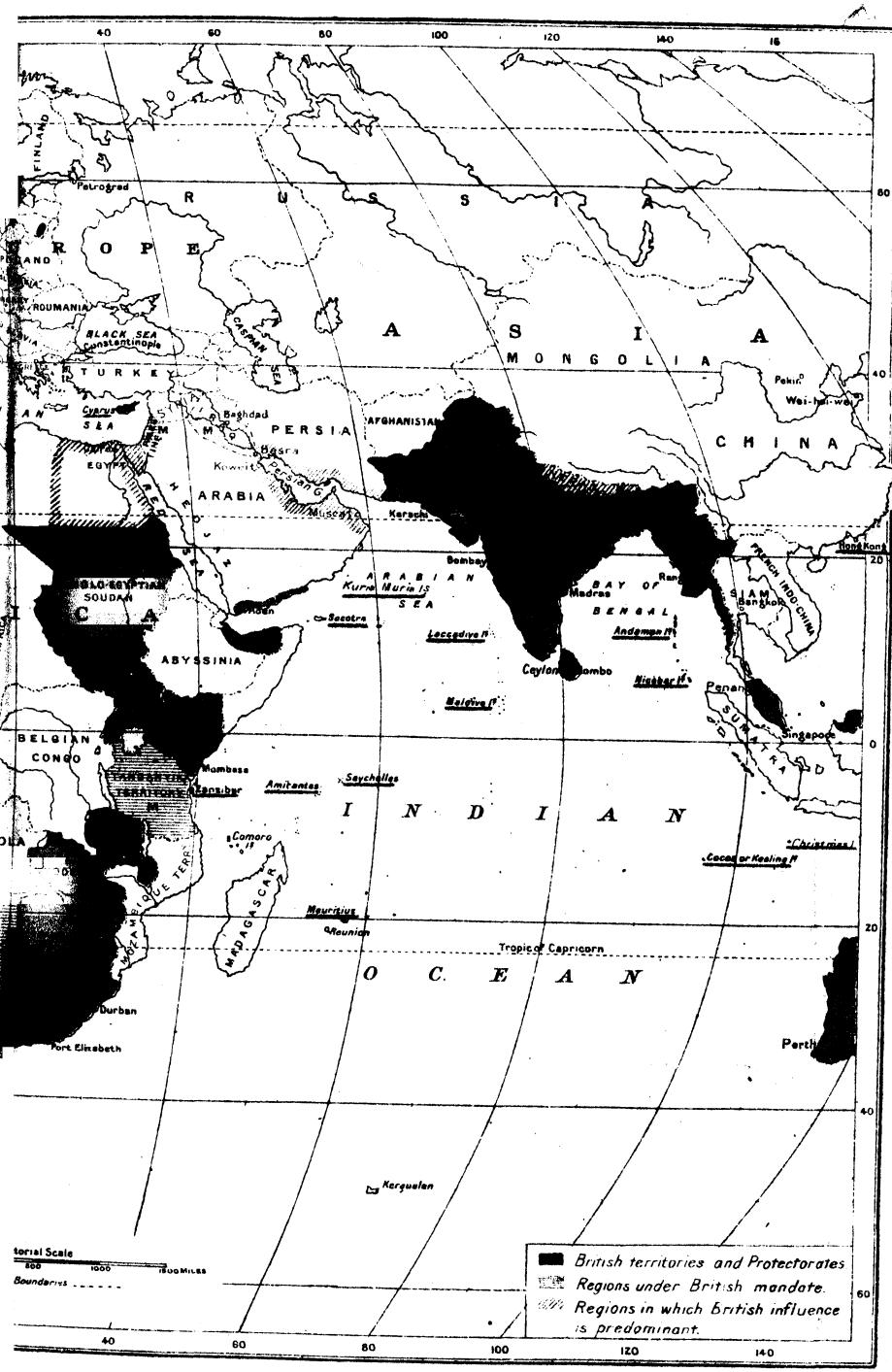
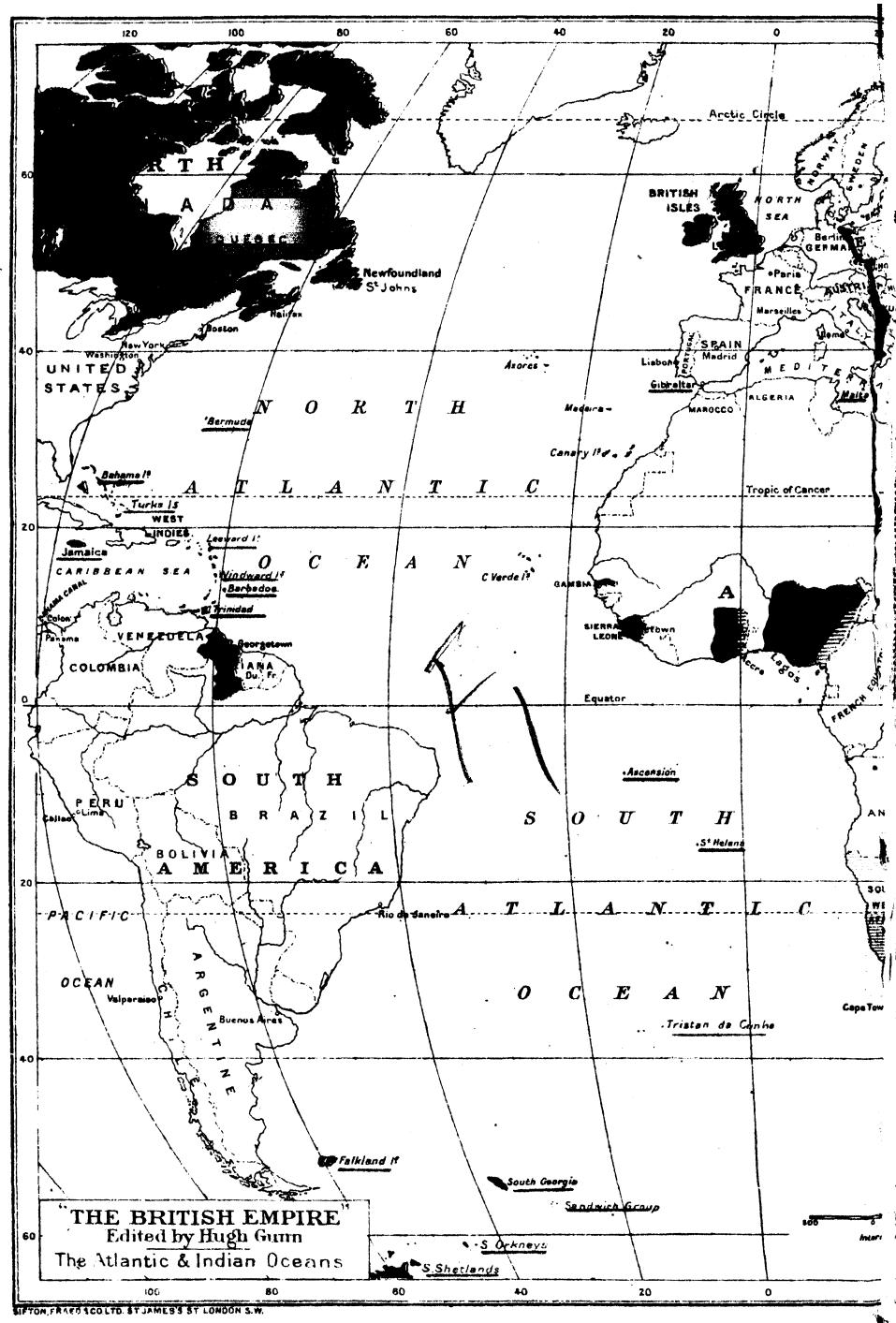


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## INTRODUCTION TO THE SERIES

A WORD is necessary as to the origin and object of this series. The Management of the British Empire Exhibition (1924), in the early days of its organisation, approached the Imperial Studies Committee of the Royal Colonial Institute for advice and assistance in connection with the educational aspect of the Exhibition's work. The Editor of this series, who is a member of that Committee, happened during a period of enforced leisure to be spending a good deal of his time at the Institute, chiefly in its delightful Library. On its shelves he found entrancing reminiscences or records of men who went forth from these islands as Pioneers to brave the perils of uncharted seas and the dangers of unknown lands, inspired more by the spirit of adventure inherent in the race than by any calculated design for personal gain or lust for the acquisition of new territories. From these volumes could be traced the beginnings and gradual growth of remote colonies, through the early stages of awakening public interest, followed perchance by apathy or neglect until the advent of some world movement brought them into the fierce light of economic and international importance.

Though there lay upon the shelves an immense mass of valuable literature on almost every phase of Imperial work, it became apparent to the Editor that there was no series of volumes which gave a complete survey of the history, resources, and activities of the Empire looked at as a whole. He felt that there was need for a

series which would provide the ordinary reader with a bird's-eye view, so to speak, of these manifold activities.

The time seemed appropriate for such a survey. The Empire had emerged victorious from the greatest of wars. The Dominions which had contributed so magnificently to the victory had sprung, as it were, at a bound not only into the consciousness and acknowledged status of full and equal nationhood with the Mother Country, but also into definite recognition by Foreign Powers as great and growing World-Forces.

The decision to hold in London an Exhibition in which the vast material resources and industries of the Empire would be brought vividly before the public seemed also to demand that there should be a record and survey of the growth and development of this far-flung congeries of countries and peoples that are called the British Commonwealth of Nations.

The Editor accordingly consulted some of his friends, and was fortunate in securing their assistance and advice. The Management of the British Empire Exhibition welcomed the scheme as supplementing from the intellectual side what the Exhibition was doing from the material aspect. He has also been fortunate in obtaining the co-operation, as authors, of distinguished men, many of whom have played a foremost part in the public life or administration of the territories concerned, and all of whom have had wide personal knowledge and experience of the subjects which they treat. The Editor's thanks are especially due to these authors. They have undertaken the work from a sense of duty and from a desire to provide, at an important stage in our history, authoritative information regarding the great heritage that has been bequeathed to us, not only unscathed

but strengthened by the stern struggle through which it has passed.

Each volume is self-contained and deals with a special aspect of the Empire treated as a whole. The volumes are, however, co-ordinated as far as possible, and give, it is hoped, a comprehensive survey of the Empire.

The writers have had complete freedom as regards the statement of their views, and it is to be understood that neither the Editor nor his advisers are responsible for such individual expressions of opinion.

The late Sir George Parkin was deeply interested in the scheme, and, but for his lamented death, would have contributed a volume to the series.

The Editor, in conclusion, desires to express his thanks to Lord Morris, and to Sir Charles Lucas, especially the latter, for the benefit of their advice and ripe experience.

HUGH GUNN,  
*General Editor.*

LONDON, *April, 1924.*

*General Editor:*

HUGH GUNN, M.A.

Late Director of Education and Member of the Legislative Council of the Orange River Colony ; Organiser of Grey University College, South Africa, and of the University of Western Australia, etc.

*Advisory Committee:*

SIR CHARLES P. LUCAS, K.C.B., K.C.M.G. (*Chairman*).

Late Head of the Dominions Department, Colonial Office, Author of *An Historical Geography of the British Colonies*, *History of Canada*, *The Empire at War*, etc.

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD MORRIS, K.C.M.G., LL.D.

Late Prime Minister of Newfoundland ; Member of the Imperial War Cabinet, etc.

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Late Colonial Secretary and Acting Lieutenant-Governor of the Orange River Colony ; late Secretary of the Royal Colonial Institute, etc.

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Late Secretary of the Rhodes Trust, who gave valuable assistance until his death.

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THE NATIVE RACES  
OF THE EMPIRE



# THE NATIVE RACES OF THE EMPIRE

*Edited and Partly Written*

*by*

SIR GODFREY LAGDEN, K.C.M.G.



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## INTRODUCTION

ONE of the principal objects of the British Empire Exhibition of 1924 is the propagation of knowledge upon all matters relating to the Empire. Several volumes on the subject are being compiled, and I have been asked in the present book to describe briefly the various peoples, other than Europeans, comprised within the Empire, who contribute so large a proportion of its population. India is outside my scope. It has an age-long history where we learn of ancient dynasties, vanished empires, eastern Art, Sculpture, and illustrious leaders of the highest culture. It will be dealt with in other parts of the series as will also Ceylon.

Never in the history of the world has there been so vast an Empire, with an area of nearly 14,000,000 square miles, or one containing in any similar degree such wonderful diversities of races speaking hundreds of languages,<sup>1</sup> professing countless religions and creeds with manners, customs, and systems that would require many volumes to catalogue and describe.

A treatise, therefore, on the native races of the Empire would, if adequate treatment was given to the subject, engage years of effort by several contributors, and, when completed, occupy a large space on the shelves of a library, so wide is the area, so great the variety of the races, their history, characteristics and environment.

This volume, which has been written at very short notice, is only designed to give a general outline and has no pretence to do more than acquaint the reader

<sup>1</sup> The Bible alone has been translated into 364 languages and dialects of the Empire.

roughly with the origin and character of the various races, where they live and what manner of people they are. It is not a scientific study of ethnology and ethnography ; it is a plain narrative from which British citizens may get a bird's eye view of the many coloured races, whether indigenous or immigrants, whose welfare and development it is our national duty faithfully to promote.

Since the time that the British nation established settlements overseas its people have stood for the ideal of uplifting subject races from a state of barbarism and of giving them opportunity to raise themselves to higher standards of life. The policy of allowing them to develop gradually on their own lines under paternal control and sympathetic guidance, without undue disturbance of racial life and pre-dilections, has been consistently followed, and the evidence given in the various chapters of this book goes to show how well our obligation has been fulfilled.

Whilst many influences have operated towards enlightenment, the task has fallen principally upon two bodies of men who have been potent instruments in taking up the "white man's burden," viz. : Magistrates and Missionaries. The magistrates have, in the vast majority of cases, been men of high character, fearless in discharge of their duty, devoted to the cause and chivalrous towards their weaker brethren, to whom they have dispensed freedom and justice. They have won not only the respect and obedience but the affection of the natives who, times out of number, have shown their gratitude by almost passionate loyalty.

Hand in hand with the magistrates have gone the missionaries of all denominations, to whose unsparing efforts the moral and intellectual improvement of the native races has been largely due. They have

often, indeed, been the pioneers who carried light to barbarians long before any settled government reached them, and deep is the debt to these missionaries whose efforts have not always been popular, mainly for the reason that their anxiety to elevate has occasionally led them too zealously to effect rapid changes before they could be usefully assimilated. They have done a great work, and almost without exception the conduct of native education has been entrusted to them. The pillar upon which their successful labours have rested has been the Bible. An illuminating chapter upon "The Bible in the Empire" is given at the end of this book.

It would have been idle in the short space at my disposal to attempt to deal, except in a passing way, with what is perhaps the most delightful side of the story of the native races, viz. : the Romantic, which affords material for a rich narrative of its own. Nor has it been practicable to take account of the classes known in every possession under the name of Half-castes, who, for the most part, are in their lives more closely related to white people than to natives, and who, as a rule, by their industry, intelligence, and self-respect, have raised themselves to a high standard of citizenship.

In designing this book, I came to the conclusion that its value would be great if I could induce a number of distinguished men who had gained a wealth of knowledge and experience during long years of public service to contribute chapters upon the subject relating to the areas with which they had been personally connected. As will be seen from the list that follows, I have been singularly fortunate in securing the generous help of many well-known and accomplished administrators, and other highly qualified writers, to whom I desire to offer warm and grateful thanks.

Taking them in the order of printing :—

- “ Northern Rhodesia,” by Sir Lawrence Wallace, formerly administrator of that territory and of long experience in South Africa.
- “ Central Africa,” by Miss Alice Werner, Research Scholar, Traveller, and University Professor of Swahili and Bantu Languages at the School of Oriental Studies.
- “ The Sudan,” by Harold Alfred MacMichael, Assistant Civil Secretary, Sudan Government, author of several books on the natives of the Sudan. This chapter has a Foreword by General Sir Reginald Wingate, formerly Governor-General of the Sudan.
- “ West Africa,” by Dr. James Crawford Maxwell, Colonial Secretary of the Gold Coast after long service in other parts of the West Coast. This chapter has a Foreword by Sir Frederick Lugard, distinguished as an Empire Administrator, formerly Governor-General of Nigeria.
- “ The Canadian Indians,” by William Courtland Noxon, Agent-General for the Province of Ontario.
- “ Newfoundland and Labrador,” by Sir Alexander Harris, formerly Governor of Newfoundland.
- “ The Malay,” by Sir Ernest Woodford Birch, formerly British Resident of Perak, composed by permission from the published writings of Sir Frank Swettenham, C.H., G.C.M.G., formerly Governor of the Straits Settlements, to whom grateful acknowledgments are accorded.
- “ Sarawak,” by Dr. Charles Hose, formerly Divisional Resident and Member of the Supreme Council.
- “ British North Borneo,” by Aylmer Cavendish Pearson, formerly Governor of that Territory.
- “ The Aborigines of Australia,” by Sir George Le

Hunte, formerly Governor of South Australia and New Guinea.

- “The Native Races of Papua,” by Captain Francis Rickman Barton, formerly Lieutenant-Governor of British New Guinea.
- “The Native Races of the Western Pacific,” by Sir Bickham Sweet-Escott, formerly Governor of Fiji and Commissioner for the Western Pacific.
- “The Native and Coloured Races of the British West Indies,” by the Hon. Gideon Murray, Master of Elibank, lately Member of the British House of Commons, formerly Magistrate for Native Affairs in New Guinea and Transvaal, and Administrator of St. Vincent and St. Lucia.
- “The Bible in the Empire,” by the Rev. Edwin W. Smith, Literary Superintendent of the British and Foreign Bible Society.

In addition to my sincere acknowledgments to the above contributors, I wish to express my best thanks to :—

Colonel the Hon. Sir James Allen, K.C.B., for helpful suggestions after he had read the MS. of my chapter on the Maori of New Zealand; to Mr. James Stuart, formerly a Magistrate in Natal, British Consul in Swaziland, and Assistant Secretary for Native Affairs, Union of South Africa, for many suggestions upon my chapter on Southern Africa; to the Native Races Committee for allowing me to make free use of a paper upon Administration contributed by me to their book, *The Natives of South Africa*; to Mr. Percy Evans Lewin, M.B.E., Librarian of the Royal Colonial Institute, for compiling a Bibliography and other most valuable help; to Mr. George Alfred Jenkin, of the Office of the High Commissioner for South Africa for collating information and much valued personal assistance; and to the following who

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Miss C. W. Macintosh, author of *Coillard of the Zambezi*;

The Rev. Edwin W. Smith, author of *Ila Speaking Peoples of Northern Rhodesia*;

Mr. A. F. Calvert, author of *South-West Africa*;  
The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel;  
Mr. Algernon Aspinall, C.M.G., Secretary of the West India Committee;

Mr. Leo Weinthal, C.B.E.;

The High Commissioner for New Zealand and the Agent General for Western Australia;

The High Commissioner for the Union of South Africa.

As the space for pictures was limited I have selected for the most part physical types.

GODFREY LAGDEN.

LONDON:

*February, 1924.*

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AFRICA



CHAPTER I  
SOUTHERN AFRICA  
BY  
SIR GODFREY LAGDEN, K.C.M.G.

SECTION I

GENERAL OUTLINE—THE PAST

THE early records of South Africa acquaint us of the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope in 1487 by Bartholomew Diaz, and the landing in 1497 of Vasco da Gama, both Portuguese explorers. The first definite occupation was effected in 1652 by Johan van Riebeck, the Dutch representative of the Netherlands East India Company, the object being to establish a naval station for supplies to ships of commerce in transit between India and Europe. By degrees the naval station grew into a small settlement which, increased in 1690 by the advent of Huguenot refugees from France, expanded gently north-eastwards until in 1778 the Europeans numbered 10,000, who threw out expeditions to the Great Fish River, which was claimed as a nominal boundary; these Dutch expeditions met the first line of resistance from indigenous natives who were gradually pushed back, enabling the settlers to make nervous and risky explorations as far as the Orange River through regions sparsely occupied by tribes who preferred to concentrate in strong positions as a measure of safety against attack from their own kindred. In 1795

British forces took possession of the Cape, but retained it only till 1803 when it was restored to the Dutch, to be seized again by the British in 1806, and eventually ceded by the Dutch upon payment to them of the sum of £6,000,000 and other considerations, and proclaimed, after much altercation and confusion, as a British Possession in 1814, and such it has remained ever since without interruption.

Prior to 1814, the Dutch had done little more than establish a few small seaboard towns and inland villages and thrown out a screen of settlers for farming along the frontiers of territory occupied by the Hottentots and other savage tribes, of whom they stood in constant dread. After 1814 the natives began to feel the force of a permanent civilised administration, against which they were destined during the next century to expend their martial energy step by step to the Zambesi.

The process of European advance was marked by bloodshed, and was conspicuous for the sufferings of the settlers, who were exposed to treachery, murder, and rapine. They were not, however, daunted by trials and perils, but doggedly moved forward, overcoming resistance and pioneering the way through inhospitable wilds for the eventual establishment of settled government. In this manner the natives with whom the pioneers contended were, after subjugation, either officially located within approved areas or were driven forth, in which case it led to the amalgamation of broken clans, who, by a common instinct, united later on to offer more vigorous resistance to the intruders. Wars were of frequent occurrence, resulting in grave shocks and heavy losses to the settlers. These wars were not always originated by the savages but arose at times from the greed of white men to seize coveted land and thus precipitate trouble. At intervals, rebellions characterised by foul murders were

secretly and suddenly sprung upon the white inhabitants. These were suppressed by effective though harsh measures, which had the effect of embittering relations though bringing the rebels to subjection. Each rebellion cost the natives their best land, as a rule, and tended to bring them more closely under Government control. It was in this way chiefly that several large native areas became incorporated within the territory now known as Cape Province, such as East Griqualand in 1879, Pondoland in 1894, and British Bechuanaland in 1895.

From the earliest period of occupation slavery, euphemistically described on the spot as "apprenticeship," was in vogue, the great majority of the slaves being of Hottentot origin. It was popular with the settlers and sanctioned by authority, discipline being rigorously enforced. Under a code of laws issued by the Dutch in 1754, any slave who raised his hand against his master could be put to death "without mercy"; and any who loitered outside the church doors at service time were liable to be "severely flogged by the Ministers of Justice." The first movement against it started in 1799, when the London Missionary Society established itself at the Cape. Agitation conducted by the missionaries grew in volume and gave rise in 1830 to an Order in Council by the Government in England, decreeing that, amongst other things, slave owners should keep a "punishment record book," and providing heavy penalties for unjust treatment, a decree that caused great ferment and heart-burning. It was not, however, till 1834 that the Emancipation Act was passed, freeing all slaves and partly compensating the owners.

Indignation caused by the abolition of slavery, land-hunger, and dislike of restraint under ordered government were the causes of migration of large

## 6    *The Native Races of the British Empire*

parties of the Dutch settlers, who preferred to face unknown and grave perils rather than live under British rule or within its sphere of influence. The farther they advanced the fiercer obstruction they encountered from the native races who were found in greater numbers and more inaccessible places ; moreover, it became very difficult to get what they required in respect of ammunition, clothing, and other necessaries. Whilst paying tribute to the natives for the fine resistance they offered, one is lost in admiration for those hardy and courageous Dutch settlers who, relying entirely upon their own limited resources and resolute belief in Providence, pioneered the way afterwards to be followed by civilisation and Christianity. It was by such-like people and in such fashion that Natal, the Orange Free State, Transvaal, and Rhodesia were explored and eventually occupied and the native tribes brought into subjection.

From this general outline of some of the leading features relating to the early occupation, and then to the clash between the blacks and the whites, we must turn now to the origin, character, and customs of the natives who form the subject of this chapter, and afterwards to consider their present conditions under provincial administration.

It has never yet been determined how long South Africa has been the home of human beings. Its earliest known inhabitants were Bushmen, so-called because they were generally found hiding in bushes of sympathetic colouring, and Hottentots. The former were a pigmy race of hunters, yellow in colour, very low down in the social scale, without any form of government, and quite incapable of adopting the habits of European civilisation. They lived in caves or holes in the ground, were polygamists and cannibals ; they roamed about the country in small parties, living upon

edible roots, berries, locusts, and any game they could kill by means of poisoned arrows or could lure into pits ; they were almost without intelligence but had strong animal instincts, especially that of finding water and of "homing," which enabled them to go far afield on predatory tours with the certain knowledge of being able to find their way back. Their language was a jumble of clicks and guttural sounds which no European has yet been able to imitate or commit to grammar. They possessed, however, an inherited faculty for drawing pictures in colours, many specimens of which, with the colours wonderfully well preserved, have been found on cave walls throughout the continent ; the pictures generally represented wild animals, or hunting scenes in which the Bushmen were always the pursuing party.

The Hottentots were a yellow nomadic people not dissimilar to the Bushmen in appearance, but taller and better developed physically and mentally. Whence they came is not positively known, but traces of them were found all over South Africa. None of their traditions were preserved. It is surmised that they sprang from a yellow race, driven south by the pressure of Central African tribes, intermixed with Bushmen blood. Their government was a weak despotism varying in efficiency with the character of the chief. Though pastoral in their habits, they also cultivated the ground, and were able to adapt themselves to European modes of life. But, both they and the Bushmen were preyed upon by all other races, and, though specimens remain, have become practically extinct as racial entities.

The Bantu,<sup>1</sup> whose original cradle was in North and Equatorial Africa, are now the predominant race in the whole of Southern Africa, where their language

<sup>1</sup> The word Bantu means People, being the plural form of the word Ntu, a man or person.

## 8    *The Native Races of the British Empire*

in various forms and dialects is universally spoken. They are believed to have migrated to the south of the Zambesi at successive periods, beginning about the fifteenth century. Their first settlement was on the western side in the country now known as Bechuanaland. Thence, as they grew in numbers and strength, they formed into groups which overran the whole of South Africa, distributing themselves according to their characteristics, some in the lowlands and forest belts bordering the sea, others in the mountainous latitudes and high tablelands. This distribution, influenced by climate and environment, tended to mould in a great measure different types of physique and mentality, who nevertheless retained in common certain tribal beliefs and customs. The coastal groups developed into big muscular people particularly proud and warlike, with whom in later years the white people had many bloody contests for supremacy ; those who went to the plains and open tablelands showed more docile disposition, lesser physique, and were more easily overcome, having fewer natural fastnesses to retreat upon ; those who settled in the bracing hills and mountains became lithe and active, with sharper intellects which helped them to offer strategic resistance in war and to be shrewd in reasoning with the white people.

When the Bantu had dispersed over the sub-continent during the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it was found that they had, out of many minor sections, formed themselves into three main groups which, though varying in degree as regards character, usages, and language idioms, showed unmistakable evidence of descent from a common stock. These groups consisted of :—

- (1) The Bechuana who settled in the high tablelands on the western side.
- (2) The Zulu-Xosa, or, as more commonly known,

the Zulu-Kaffir,<sup>1</sup> who constituted the principal tribes occupying the whole east coast from the Sabi River in the Transvaal, southwards to Eastern Cape Colony.

(3) The Damara and Ovambo, who went to the country lying between the Kalahari and Atlantic Ocean.

All these groups were divided into numerous tribes and sub-tribes, who often became separated by long distances, but, wherever they lived, preserved the ethnical features of the branch to which they belonged.

In colour, the Bantu varied from light brown to black. They were not full-blooded negroes, but a mixture between two or more elements of which the negro prevailed over Hamitic and Arab strains. From such descent, various types, both of high and low order, asserted themselves in every sub-division. Generally speaking, they were thick-lipped, with woolly hair and flat noses, though aquiline features, especially amongst the families of chiefs, were often found. They were indolent of habit, though capable of great industry if stirred to their own advantage, and in times of war proved equal to enormous effort and endurance. Imitative rather than inventive, conservative, especially in tribal affairs, they took life easily unless moved to passion by threatened danger to their chiefs, land, cattle, or customs ; they were then liable to uncontrollable outbursts of violence. Internecine feuds for supremacy or the possession of favoured land were of frequent occurrence, leading to a high death-rate of males and a preponderance of females ; it was for that reason more than any other probably that from time immemorial polygamy

<sup>1</sup> The name Kaffir, by which the Bantu have been so commonly known, is a generic term meant to include all sections. It was a name given to them contemptuously by the Mohammedans, and meant "unbeliever."

prevailed.<sup>1</sup> In such times polygamy had its merits, for it gave every woman a status in the social system which she preferred, though only that of a junior wife, and acted as a check upon open immorality.

Their traditional religion was founded on ancestral worship and faith in the powers for good or evil of the spirits of the deceased, especially chiefs, who could exert influence over living persons and worldly affairs, could send plagues, punish wickedness, reward the virtuous, and even control lightning ; to offend the spirits of their dead chiefs was an unforgivable crime, and this was a factor which made for loyalty. They had a profound belief in witchcraft, fetishism, and the efficacy of charms ; their wizards, generally accoutred in repulsive dress, professed to have occult powers, which they exercised malevolently, and were allowed to condemn innocent as well as guilty, by both of whom they were held in everlasting terror. Some tribes held in veneration particular animals or inanimate objects through whom the spirits of the dead were supposed to make their visits. Thus the lion, crocodile, baboon, and certain snakes ; iron, the sun, the wild vine, and certain trees, symbolic figures of which, as idols, were often secreted in their dwellings. Deep rivers were believed to harbour "water spirits," who could at any time claim their victims, to whom no help was allowed to be given if in danger of drowning ; if the victim could escape he was deemed to possess a talisman of great value. They had no conception of any Supreme Being other than of some mighty chief who had lived and to whom supernatural powers were ascribed, nor of an after life. Their Deity, so far as they had one, existed in the spirits of ancestors, and nothing exercised more restraint upon their actions than the dread of vengeance by evil spirits, which

<sup>1</sup> There are strong grounds for supposing that at some stage of their history they were closely associated with the Jews.

could be propitiated by the magical agency of sacrifices, charms, and weird orisons. There was no priesthood to administer their religion, which was interpreted by the witch doctors in a hideous manner nearly always directed towards the destruction or dispossession of their fellow creatures. In general their mystic persuasion followed the lines adopted by all barbarous races, subject to the variations prompted by environment.

Their customs, many very primitive, differing according to racial grouping, were prolific in number, and in some respects revolting to European ideas. Rites and ceremonies of weird and brutal description formed a regular part of their lives, the ritual being conducted, as a rule, by those who professed sorcery, with a knowledge of medical herbs and the sources from which poison was derived. Amongst other mysterious powers they claimed was that of calling down rain when wanted for the crops ; but if their prophecies failed they were liable to, and often met with, cruel death as impostors. Trial by ordeal by means of heat or poison was not uncommon, where other evidence had failed or the medicine men desired to convict guiltless persons by unbearable tests. Nothing was too vile for this sinister caste to perpetrate, which might bring them wealth or satisfy the lust of chiefs for the removal of those who were obnoxious or mistrusted. Innocent persons accused of bewitching or causing death, sickness, or cattle disease, could be remorselessly slain. When children reached adolescence they were, among many of the tribes, subjected to abominable observances ; the boys were initiated in sexual commerce, and underwent harsh treatment and cruel discipline to fit them as warriors ; the girls treated in a way calculated to rouse the lowest passions.

Apart from customs having repulsive features

given in the preceding paragraph, there were many that were of disciplinary value, others singularly quaint and interesting. As regards marriage, for instance, there is no trace of the Bantu ever having lived in a state of promiscuity. It was an arrangement between relatives and friends that had all the force of native law behind it without any religious ceremony. It involved the passing of a certain number of cattle from the future husband to the girl's parents as a guarantee of good faith ; it was a system that carried back to early ages as recorded in the Old Testament. The contract was not one of purchase and sale ; it was solely one of protection for the female, who could not be enslaved killed, injured, or maltreated without the man being called to account. Similarly it acted as a moral restraint and security for good behaviour on the part of the wife, for, in the case of her misbehaviour, she lost caste, and the cattle paid for her could be recovered. Simple as the system seemed, it was the chief cause of never-ceasing litigation in the native courts as the original dowry was never paid in full at the outset, and in the event of death or misconduct intricate complications occurred. Imbecile and deformed children were not allowed to live. In the matter of inheritance, the eldest son of the senior wife was absolute heir but incurred the responsibility of providing for his mother, together with all his father's widows and their progeny. In burials, the body was placed in a sitting posture alongside the weapons and ornaments of deceased, whose huts and clothing were burnt, and the same spot never used again for building ; any person who touched a corpse had to be purified by ceremonies ; a dying person was often carried to a distance to expire for fear of contamination by evil spirits. In the case of chiefs, great ceremonies followed ; sometimes their body servants were killed to keep them company in the next or

underworld ; their wives went into exile and occasionally perished from exposure. The accompaniments of ceremonies were feasting, dancing and singing, all made riotous by the drinking of intoxicating beer brewed from the millet, which formed their chief food, and seldom ended without broken heads.

The Bantu race were agriculturists, though in early days the area under seed could only be small, as they had to congregate in strong communities ready to repel sudden attacks and dared not cultivate far afield. Their chief wealth lay in cattle for which they had great affection and would always die in defending. So responsive were the cattle to this devotion that, at a given signal, when danger threatened from raids, hundreds of them could be led by the whistling of a single man into a mad rush from their distant pastures to positions of safety. Their food consisted mostly of meat and game, with millet of several varieties ; indigenous fruits, dried locusts, and field rodents made up their diet. Except in rare instances, when under the pressure of famine, cannibalism was not known to exist. They were not given seriously to tattooing or disfigurement, nor were they very fastidious about hairdressing, but nearly all tribes might be known by their fashions. Their native industries were not of a high order, consisting chiefly of smelting iron, from which formidable assegais, battle-axes, and knives were made ; on these weapons for use in war their greatest skill and imagination were exerted ; beyond that, the men did practically nothing, as they had to stand in readiness to fight, but the women made beautiful baskets and pottery of good quality and curious designs.

The system of land tenure was simple and admirably suited to the time in which they lived. The chief apportioned to each sub-chief, or head-man of a

village, a certain acreage ; in like manner they apportioned to each married man enough ground for family cultivation and for hutting. This land could on no account be alienated or sold, and if the owner went away it lapsed. All uncultivated land was communal pasturage which was husbanded carefully for the cattle which all fed together. The only payment asked and given was fealty to the chief.

Nothing has been more conspicuous in Bantu usage than the tendency to build up powerful castes under masterful chiefs, noted for valour and success in battle, who gathered a substantial following attracted by the hope of wealth in land, wives, and cattle. For similar reasons minor chiefs of position banded together under a Paramount, enabling him to command large forces ready at his call either for defence or for extension of the tribal sway, with resulting riches. The whole history of Southern Africa has been bound up with the names of great chieftain leaders who have consolidated tribes, have, as a rule, ruthlessly destroyed or absorbed weaker or inferior tribes, and who fought strenuously for long years against the advance of the white man. This ruling chieftainship, although it arrested the march of civilisation for so long, served a great purpose in holding the people together for national defence as well as for the maintenance of discipline which, in the absence of written laws, enjoined a certain code of order and social morality, rude though it was, differentiating them from lower races like the Bushmen and Hottentots.

These Bantu have always been characterised by tribal organisation under leadership of the chief who, by a sort of Divine Right, was the centre of the national life, and in whom the tribe was conscious of its unity. He was in the same relation as a father is to his family ; each member owed him personal allegiance and service when called upon, in exchange

for which he received such protection as could be given and the right to land for cultivation, thus resembling in close fashion the feudal system of the Middle Ages in Europe. As a father might consult his family, so the head-man consulted the men of the kraals, and a chief took counsel with the elders. He was the referee in all matters and alone could sanction changes in traditional usage ; in him was vested by consent the power to govern at will, and, so long as he was mighty, he was above all law and could not err. Their courts of justice were in their way excellent in respect of the law of evidence. A person charged was deemed guilty until he proved his innocence. According to the procedure, an accuser had to state his case in open assembly accessible to all and to call his witnesses ; the accused with his witnesses were then allowed to reply ; then any person present was permitted to cross-examine at pleasure ; the chief generally allowed judgment to be given through the mouth of a trusted councillor after other important councillors had summed up. There was subtlety in this, the reason being that the chief could, if matters did not turn out exactly correct, always allege that it was not he who pronounced judgment, thus leaving the door open for an appeal. The system was by no means unsound, and unless wizards were allowed to contaminate the proceedings by intruding their vile craft, justice generally prevailed.

It was a form of government perfectly understood and acceptable by the people, carrying with it mutual responsibility and suretyship, but requiring implicit obedience, in default of which heavy penalties followed. It possessed a ready means of communication and control, extending in an unbroken chain of responsibility from the Paramount to the head of a kraal or family. But it was not only the system which bound them together ; that was a thing of their own

creation ; the people had all the traditional love for their chiefs which children have for their parents. Whether the chiefs were harsh or cruel, exacting or unfair, did not affect the devoted loyalty of adherents. So chivalrous were they that it was almost unknown for a common man knowingly to raise his hand to kill a chief even on the field of battle in the midst of fierce passions.

Chiefs, like all rulers of all nations, varied in character. All were more or less ferocious, according to the usages of the times in which they lived, when iron rule was the only possible expedient. As types of great chiefs who became famous may be mentioned, Moshesh, maker of the Basuto nation, and Tshaka, the Zulu, both to be referred to later. Moshesh combined a strong leadership in war and peace with an affected gentleness, cleverly disguised, and a foresight which enabled him to realise that he could not defy the march of civilisation. Tshaka was an unscrupulous and bloodthirsty ruffian, who exacted inhuman discipline but had no vision beyond the length of his assegai ; yet both were revered and worshipped by their people.

But, however the people might writhe under the tyranny of brutal chiefs, they were not without a common law which, varying in details according to local usage, had amongst all Bantu tribes, many points of resemblance. Briefly, it consisted of an unwritten code transmitted from generation to generation by individuals who had the instinct of lawyers and were able to hand it down with a store of precedents so material in the settlement of succession quarrels and land disputes. Its great strength lay in the obligation imposed upon all, from the herd-boy upwards, to render personal service for the tribe. Every male was familiarised from early youth with the use of weapons to which he was bound to fly when the

tocsin sounded. As a reward for this he got the romance of war and a share of its spoil. Each clan was held answerable for the conduct of the kraals which composed it ; each village for those who lived in it ; each head-man for his ward and each family for its members. Ignorance of the doings of others, the presence of strangers or strange cattle, was not admissible. It was the duty of each to be conversant with everything around—to be, in fact, a communal guard. There were no jails ; the serious misdemeanours were manslaughter and cattle-theft, punishable by fines of cattle, or, having none, the families of the guilty suffered for them, thus providing a useful deterrent. The gravest of all crimes to their minds was infidelity to chief or tribe, and for that the extreme penalty was nearly always exacted if the delinquent was caught.

This tribal system had its value in early times by preserving a definite form of ordered government as well as a certain standard of sexual morality, breaches of which could be punished with fierce severity. Yet the despotic power of the chief led to great abuses of power in the hands of men heartless and cruel by nature. There was no quarter for captives, no mercy to enemies or condemned persons.<sup>1</sup> “Eating up” was a common practice towards men of substance who amassed wealth in cattle, or who, with or without reason, were charged with crimes or incurred the enmity of witch-doctors ; such persons might be sent swiftly to eternity and their property swept off ; and any unfortunate man “smelt out” had to flee for his life or perish with the knowledge in any case that his innocent family would, if not put to death with him, be outlawed and stripped of everything. Such a system naturally bred in the people treacherous and

<sup>1</sup> If, however, amongst the Zulus a condemned person succeeded in taking refuge at one of the royal graves, he *ipso facto* became absolved.

brutal instincts and left no room for the growth of intellect or improvement in the conditions of living.

With the subjection of Lobengula and his Matabele, to be referred to later, this oppressive order of things, which had gradually been proscribed as tribes came under control, practically passed away from South Africa ; all that remains of chieftainship is now bereft of its repulsive features and is utilised by the governing powers as a means of communication with the tribesmen and preserving order and tranquillity in domestic native affairs.

It was certain that the Bantu who, from the first, had shown themselves to be a virile and productive race, of warlike disposition with effective tribal organisation, would not allow the white people easy access to and through the land they had themselves won and previously occupied. There were certainly great gaps through which invaders could pour because, owing to deadly feuds, the tribes were forced to congregate both for the purpose of making incursions and for repulsing attack. They had chosen those parts which were richest for pasture and cultivation and favourable by their physical features for defence. But the spirit of adventure was strong amongst the indomitable Dutch and English, who in time outgrew the small dimensions of the coastal fringe first occupied. For that reason, coupled with a great longing for the hinterland, regarded as theirs for expansion and development, they forged ahead in armed contingents to seize the well-pastured country, so luxurious of promise, in a new world that ever opened up a great BEYOND.

From the date of the first advances of the white people early in the eighteenth century down to quite recent times, South Africa has ever been the scene of bloody wars with the Kaffir tribes, who, fortunately for the settlers, were never able to combine successfully,

and indeed were often induced by the prospect of plunder to take part against their own fellow tribes. The first serious fighting occurred in 1811, when the Kaffirs made an inroad in Cape Colony upon the country between the Fish and Sunday Rivers ; they were driven back, and, as a consequence, a line of military posts was established along the eastern frontier with the town of Grahamstown as a military base. In 1819, 10,000 savages led by Makara, a prophet, vigorously attacked Grahamstown with its garrison of 320 men ; after a desperate struggle they were repulsed and driven back to the Kei River ; subsequently the whole country round Grahamstown was ravaged, when a lot of outlying settlers were brutally murdered ; reprisals followed, and in 1834 the boundary was formally carried up to the Kei. In 1837, the emigrant Boers met and defeated Moselekatze, a renegade Zulu chief, who had devastated the greater part of Central South Africa, driving him over the Limpopo River, where he eventually founded the Matabele nation. Simultaneously, other Boer commandos crossed the Drakensberg and came into collision with the Zulu chief, Dingana, who, after treacherously murdering Piet Retief and his party, was attacked and defeated in a desperate fight. In 1842 British forces were besieged by Zulus in Durban ; in 1846 occurred the War of the Axe in Kaffraria, arising from the rescue of a native charged with stealing an axe, and in 1850 an extensive rebellion in Cape Colony, quelled only after heavy fighting. From 1858 to 1869 the Orange Free State Boers lived in a continual state of war with the Basuto ; in 1873, a Zulu rising in Natal under Langalibalele ; 1876, war between the Transvaal Boers and the Bapedi chief, Sekukuni ; 1877, the revolt of Kreli in Kaffraria ; 1879, the great Zulu war in which strong British forces met with several severe reverses, followed by another

Sekukuni campaign, the Moirosi rebellion in Basutoland, and operations against the natives of Griqualand West ; and finally, in 1893, the Matabele war, ending in the death of Lobengula.

The above principal conflicts representing only a portion of the many which rocked the continent with passion, are quoted in order to show with what dogged determination and bravery the Bantu tribes at one time or another resisted the white man. And their resistance was the more daring because, with little exception, they were armed only with primitive weapons ; for even those who possessed guns scarcely understood the proper use of them and were ill supplied with ammunition ; whereas the white men held the advantage of ample resources, and ever new destructive arms, ending up with magazine rifles and machine-guns. Such an exhibition of manliness and virility in a race leads to the belief that they were, and are, worthy of preservation and help in their development. For, after all, they fought desperately for the land they had won and for the wild life they cherished. No patriots at any time could claim a sounder cause. It may also be claimed for them that few, if any, races took defeat more nobly when it is remembered that in spite of discomfiture, losses, and dismemberment they never lost their sunny nature, and ever returned to be the white man's slave without being enslaved by law. If in war they showed no quarter, were guilty of cruel murders and treachery, it can be laid to their credit that many of them remained through all crises absolutely faithful to masters to whom they had become attached ; that they gave warning, and aid in defending homesteads, showing trustiness of the highest order which never failed to command the gratitude of all right-minded Europeans who were acquainted with the story of those terrible times when none knew when a savage

outbreak was coming or upon whom the first blow would fall.

The great result of a century of tempestuous wars was that the whole country, from the Cape to the Zambesi, formerly held in sway by the Bantu, came gradually under British Sovereignty, and now constitutes geographically the Union of South Africa and Rhodesia.

As the tribes have undergone great changes in the course of their struggles with us and between themselves, it will be convenient in following up the story to deal with the present distribution and condition of the natives under Provinces and Protectorates, and to discuss separately the varying forms of administration. For that purpose the population as a whole, quoted from the latest census in the Union Year Book for 1921, will be found instructive.

#### POPULATION OF UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA AND SOUTHERN RHODESIA

	White.	Coloured. <sup>1</sup>	Total
			All Races.
Cape of Good Hope	651,866	2,130,846	2,782,712
Natal	137,695	1,290,011	1,427,706
Transvaal	543,673	1,544,099	2,087,772
Orange Free State	189,208	439,594	628,802
South West Africa (formerly German)	19,432	208,616	228,048
Basutoland	1,603	497,178	498,781
Bechuanaland Protectorate	1,743	151,240	152,983
Swaziland	2,205	104,756	106,961
Southern Rhodesia <sup>2</sup>	33,620	848,840	882,460
	1,581,045	7,215,180	8,796,225

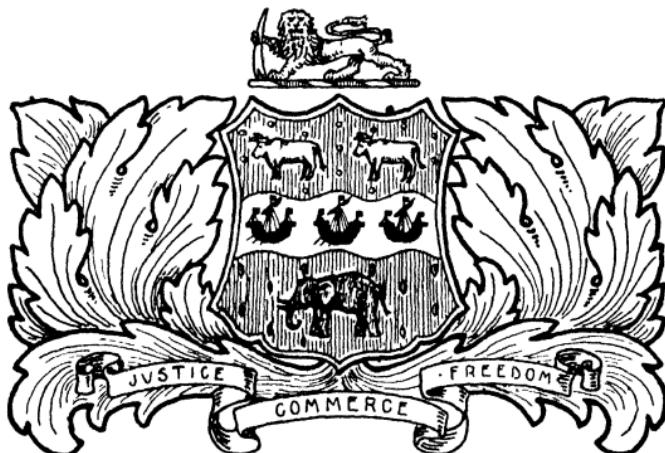
<sup>1</sup> Includes Bantu, Asiatic, and all other coloured.

<sup>2</sup> Northern Rhodesia given separately.

It will be seen that the coloured of all races (excluding Northern Rhodesia) are in the proportion of a little over four and a half to one of white and that the Bantu alone, who show a high annual rate of increase, are approximately four to one.

The "coloured people," including all the Malays in Cape Colony, and the Indians in Natal, together with a mixed assortment of other than aborigines, number in all about 705,000 ; the remainder, numbering over 6,500,000, represent pure Bantu stock.

In the succeeding sections, statistics relating to population, area, education, etc., have been taken when possible from the Union of South Africa Year Book, 1910-21.



Arms of British South Africa Company.

**THE CHANGING ORDER AND PRESENT  
CONDITIONS IN THE TERRITORIAL  
DIVISIONS OF SOUTHERN AFRICA**



THE CHANGING ORDER AND PRESENT  
CONDITIONS IN THE  
TERRITORIAL DIVISIONS  
OF  
SOUTHERN AFRICA

2

CAPE PROVINCE

THE historical features relating to the natives in the previous section apply in the main to the Cape Colony, with its area of over 276,000 square miles.

It was Cape Colony that experienced the first shock of violent contact with the aborigines and bore the brunt of sudden and violent attacks of a previously unbeaten host of warriors who believed themselves to be invincible. It was Cape Colony that threw out the bold pioneers, mostly of Dutch origin, who went fearlessly into the wilds to seek and win, after much sacrifice, new pastures. It was to Cape Colony that refugee tribes fled for sanctuary under the British flag from the bloody tyranny of northern chiefs like Tshaka and Moselekatse. It was in that colony that slavery found its first home and first emancipation followed by beneficial laws that gave the coloured man freedom and franchise. It has been the premier colony in all that was great and noble in the treatment of native races.

Just as it was the most daring and enterprising of the white pioneers who ventured afar in early days to face the unknown dangers of the interior, so it was

the group of most daring tribes who were the Bantu pioneers to go forth and meet them. Their conflicts ended always in the latter being finally beaten and absorbed or forced backwards, and the process led to some of the most formidable being broken up and scattered. This accounts in some measure for the many sections now found in Cape Colony, whilst many other sections are made up of refugees from the fury of north-eastern chiefs. The following is a list of the tribal divisions in the Cape Province, as given in the census for 1911, since when they have all largely increased in numbers. Later census reports do not contain this tribal distribution.

	1911.	1904.	1891.
Baca	43,266	36,083	24,556
Basuto, including			
Bapedi	93,310	70,104	39,583
Bechuana	112,320	101,876 <sup>1</sup>	18,371
Bomvana	13,193	19,741	11,638
Damara	3,528	2,454	1,621
Fingo	316,881	310,720	229,680
Hlangweni	8,297	12,710	8,627
Kaffir (unspecified)	4,244	14,602	8,694
Pondo	209,375	187,766 <sup>1</sup>	7,229
Pondomise	54,188	50,557	30,647
Tembu	267,088	266,284	184,754
Xesibe	14,355	14,456	11,766
Xosa	353,261	324,225	249,484
Zulu	23,527	13,209	11,486
Other	3,106	—	—
	—	—	—
	1,519,939	1,424,787	838,136

From the above list it will be seen that five tribes contribute the bulk of the native population, viz.: Fingo, Xosa, Tembu, Pondo, Bechuana.

<sup>1</sup> Increases caused principally by annexation.

The Fingoes are allied to the Zulu and are descendants of those who fled south from terror of the Zulu chief, Tshaka. After suffering from his tyranny they had another severe struggle with the Xosa, from whose hands they were rescued by the Cape Government in 1835, and thereafter proved themselves, as a rule, loyal and obedient. They were the first tribe to become adapted to European civilisation, advancing steadily in social habits until, under the influence of education and Christianity which the majority profess to believe in, they have become probably the most cultured native people in South Africa, many of them taking to intellectual pursuits and learned professions. The Amaxosa-Pondo-Tembu tribes had a common origin in their founder Zwide, who, according to tradition, flourished in the fourteenth century ; from that stock many of the smaller tribes also sprang.

The Bechuana are believed to have formed the vanguard of the first large Bantu migration from Central Africa. They constitute a mass of small tribes who never became welded together under any great chief, and have thus always been preyed upon by more warlike tribes.

It may be said that, under a generally beneficent rule, the natives of Cape Colony have invariably led the way towards betterment and improvement. One of the principal reasons for this, apart from their longer probation of control, is that upon the giving of responsible government to the Cape in 1872, they acquired a particular status by the grant of franchise rights upon equal terms with the white people. This inspired many of them to try to acquire the necessary qualifications for voting, which are :—

Age : 21 years.

Sex : male.

Education : ability to write name, address, and occupation.

Property: occupation of building or land to value of £75, or receipt for twelve months of wages at rate of £50 per annum. Land held on communal tenure not to be computed.

The result of this liberal constitution was, that between 1872 and 1921, some 44,139 coloured people of all sorts had reached the qualification.

Striking evidence of the desire shown by Cape Colony to raise the standard of its coloured races is to be found in the official Year Book for 1921, containing the latest Education Returns as follows:—

No. of Schools.				No. of Scholars.	Expenditure.
Native.	Other Coloured.	Training Schools.	Total.		
1585	409	25	2019	154,422	£387,995

Opportunities for higher education are afforded in training schools both for scholars and teachers. Throughout all the provinces of South Africa native education is almost entirely conducted by the Mission Societies, and the system may be described as one of State-aided mission schools, in which the Christian religion forms a definite part of the teaching curriculum.

There are also several industrial schools where native boys are thoroughly trained as carpenters, blacksmiths, tailors, bricklayers, telegraphists and in many other crafts in which they become skilful performers; but as they will, as a rule, work at cheaper rates than white artisans, their employment is entirely banned by the labour unions in most large centres.

The remarkable increase of the native and coloured population is a tribute to the fatherly care of the Government to guard against and deal with epidemics.

As a whole, their health is excellent. They are physically strong and not only cultivate all available land, but furnish immense numbers of labourers, male and female, for domestic service in towns, farm work, mines, and other industries. In farm labour alone over 150,000 are annually employed, and probably an equal number go to the gold and diamond mines. They are honest, good workmen, and as police do splendid work under white supervision.

As regards land in occupation, the position briefly is that in all the provinces the tribal natives hold, during good behaviour, by virtue of inheritance, use, or dedication, a large slice of South Africa, mostly on communal tenure in locations or reserves. Their right to it is secured either by title, registration, pledges, or legislative acts. In some parts they can, under certain conditions, purchase or otherwise acquire, additional land ; in others they cannot do so. Whether they should be allowed to do so or not is a highly contentious matter into which race prejudice keenly enters. A view largely held by the Dutch and farming population is that as large areas are reserved exclusively for natives where it is not permissible for Europeans to acquire freehold, coloured people should be prohibited from settling on unreserved land contiguous to European owners, where their presence is obnoxious. It requires little imagination to realise the force of this contention if the picture is drawn of a farmer's life surrounded by native squatters, or of residential quarters in towns being invaded by native kraals.

It was on account of problems and prejudices of this character that the late Cecil Rhodes passed through the Cape Colonial Legislature in 1894 the Glen Grey Act which contemplated the substitution in defined areas of individual for communal tenure, by surveying the country into eight acre allotments

for each householder. The main object of this fundamental and archetypal measure was the encouragement of progressive tendencies by giving security and independence and stimulating enterprise. It aimed at conferring upon the native residents of proclaimed areas a form of Home Rule by means of councils which, though having considerable powers, were under the guidance of Government officers. The Act was not extended to the whole of the native territories in Cape Colony, but limited to portions like the Transkei, where the general features of the land and the character of its occupants favoured the experiment. In no other part of South Africa could it have been applied with such prospects of fair trial and success. It gratified the ambitions of many who were anxious to advance and who liked the idea of fixity because it released them from chieftainship and the tribal system and promised freedom to gain the reward of personal toil. It was a bit of benevolent class legislation full of safeguards preventing the alienation of holdings and the licensing of canteens for sale of spirituous liquor; further, it provided that allotments should descend by primogeniture to the heir-at-law and not be broken up for distribution amongst several wives and their children. This served and was intended to serve as a deterrent to polygamy. In the parliamentary debate, Mr. Rhodes related the following humorous incident that occurred to him during one of his tours to sound the natives and learn their views about his proposals. He said, amidst much merriment:—

“ While I was in the Transkei a little while ago, I came across an intelligent old native with, I believe, six wives. That native said that Government would only recognise his first wife. The missionary had also told him to put away all his wives but the first, and also told him to read his Bible. The native said he

had read his Bible, and he found that the whole of the respectable people in the Old Testament had from one to a hundred wives. He said he had also found no instructions in the old Law that they must remove all their wives except one. He asked my opinion, but I said I had not considered the question, and that I was not married myself."

The story is a useful commentary upon the difficulty of reconciling religious teaching with native thought.

The passing of the Act marked a direct step in the break from old traditions and, though it has not yet been found practicable to apply it generally in South Africa, it is probable that reform will eventually follow on its lines. The councils are advisory to the administration; they give the natives a voice in their own affairs, control of local funds, train them to constitutional methods of appeal, and serve admirably to keep the Government in close touch with their feelings and aspirations. In surveyed locations under the Act, allotment holders pay a small quit rent tax; in all reserves and on Crown land, each male adult pays an annual hut tax of ten shillings.

It can confidently be claimed that Cape Colony enjoys the distinction of having been foremost in all movements for uplifting their subject races, who may now be described as self-respecting industrious people whose example of loyalty and progressiveness has been felt in all other provinces.

The subject of administration and laws for the government of the natives in each province will form a separate section.

## NATAL AND ZULULAND

Natal was discovered by Vasco da Gama in 1497. It was in May, 1824, that the first group of European settlers arrived in Natal by sea from Cape Town. They found large tracts of country about Port Natal almost uninhabited. Learning that the chief of that important section of the Bantu family, the great and terrible Tshaka, then residing in what is now called Zululand, claimed the territory as his own, they repaired to the royal headquarters and obtained permission from the despot to live at the port and to enter into commercial dealings with his people. Notwithstanding the ease with which a footing was obtained, their position was for many years one of great insecurity. They maintained a friendly attitude towards the Zulu monarch, knowing that a conflict must have resulted in their annihilation. He eventually ceded them a tract of country stretching thirty-five miles along the coast north and south of Port Natal. But Dingana, Tshaka's successor, was ill disposed to the settlers, and despatched an army in 1834 to massacre them, of which they got warning and fled.

In 1836 large numbers of Dutch farmers arrived from the Cape Colony, and soon came into collision with Dingana, who, amongst other atrocities, treacherously murdered a friendly mission consisting of Piet Retief and sixty-five companions, and followed it up by a cold-blooded massacre of 281 men, women, and children. These acts of savagery were avenged by the Boers on 16th December, 1838, when they met and totally defeated the Zulu forces and then proclaimed the Republic of Natal.

In 1843 Natal was occupied by British forces and proclaimed a British Possession subordinate to Cape Colony. In 1856 it became a distinct colony, and was given responsible government in 1893. Zululand, with which the territories of the chiefs Umbegeza and Sambana and the Amatonga Protectorate became incorporated, was, in 1897, annexed to Natal, which now embraces an area of 35,284 square miles, with a total population of 1,427,706, made up of 137,695 whites, and 1,290,011 coloured people, of whom 140,858 are Indians, imported originally for the sugar industry, and the remainder nearly all of Zulu extraction.

The history of Natal is closely bound up with the stirring record of the Zulus and their rise to power, for the knowledge of which we are indebted to the valuable researches of the late Sir Theophilus Shepstone. The following short narrative is based upon his records :—

Occupying the neighbourhood of the Black and White Umfolozi Rivers in Zululand about the year 1790 was a tribe of considerable dimensions called the Umtetwa, to whom the Zulus, then of less importance, were tributary. The Untetwa chief Jobe, on the approach of old age, fearing dissensions after his death resolved to adjust the matter of succession by timely nomination of his heir. Of his two principal sons, he appointed the elder, Tana, who was, however, not content to await his turn, but conspired with his younger brother, Godongwana, to take their father's life. The old man, on discovering the plot, became indignant, and took secret measures to have both of his sons put to death, his anger against the younger being intensified in the belief that he was the instigator and would be the more dangerous if at large. Thereupon he caused the hut in which the boys slept to be surrounded at night, with orders to butcher all

found inside, particularly the younger son. Including Tana, the elder, all were killed except Godongwana the younger, who, rushing the doorway and leaping the outer fence, eluded the assassins, but not without receiving a terrible wound through the back from a barbed spear thrown at him. Concealing himself in the bush, he miraculously avoided capture, and was discovered next day by a faithful sister who, after extracting the assegai and feeding him, aided his escape by disguise and other desperate hazards. Surviving marvellous adventures, badly wounded, and friendless, Godongwana passed from tribe to tribe until he reached Cape Colony, where he found the white people, from whom he learnt the art of combination in warfare and other military devices. Hearing after about ten years of the death of his father Jobe, he fearlessly returned back to his old home and claimed the chieftainship, the scar upon his back serving to identify him. His impressive arrival, riding upon a horse, an animal then unknown to them, together with his daring and fine presence fascinated the people who at once acclaimed him, to the dismay of the usurping chief, who immediately fled but was overtaken and killed, together with all those who were friendly to him. Thus Godongwana won back the Umtetwa chieftainship, which he retained for many years under the new name of Dingiswayo, meaning, "He who was caused to wander," conferred upon him in admiration of his valour and exploits.

Dingiswayo, upon getting firmly established, gave effect to his ambitious designs by at once founding the military system which he had learnt from the whites.

At that time the Zulu chief, who owed allegiance to the Umtetwa, was Senzangakona. He had an illegitimate son, Tshaka, a youth of fiery disposition, who, having roused the jealousy and hostility of his

legitimate brothers, was forced to flee with his mother and take refuge with Dingiswayo, into whose service the young man promptly entered about the year 1805 and soon won distinction after serving long enough to learn the merits of the new military system and appreciate the weakness, as he thought, of Dingiswayo's lenient policy in war. It was his fortune, though not the legitimate heir, to be elected chief of the Zulus in succession to his father Senzangakona, who died about the year 1810 and was celebrated as being the father also of Dingana and Panda. In alliance with Dingiswayo, Tshaka then carried on combined operations against other tribes, particularly against Zwide the most powerful neighbour chieftain, who had on one occasion been defeated and captured by Dingiswayo but had been chivalrously liberated. Later on the tables were turned ; Zwide beat and captured Dingiswayo and would in the same generous spirit have spared his captive but for the intervention of his (Zwide's) mother, at whose instigation he was put to death ; whereupon his tribe, without a strong ruler, were overcome, and threw themselves under the protection of Tshaka, who in that way became chief over the now united Umtetwa and Zulus (henceforth to be known as Zulus), a position to which he was raised by the voice of the warriors, who delighted in bold leaders.

Tshaka now held a strong position both in fame and numbers. Unlike Dingiswayo, who spared some of his enemies after defeat, he preferred, as a rule, the policy of extermination. But he still had to reckon with his formidable neighbour Zwide, by whom he was attacked unawares, badly hammered, and forced to take refuge in flight. However, he quickly retrieved the disaster by striking and dispersing Zwide's army with such fury that the remnant surrendered to take service in the Zulu regiments. This action removed

the last check upon Tshaka's victorious career. The succeeding years were marked by his murderous excursions far and wide, leading to utter depopulation of some tribes and incorporation of others, until in 1828 he met a violent death at the hands of his half-brother, Dingana. More than any other leader of the time he had perfected the military organisation of the coast tribes. He introduced new tactics for the delivery of attack by massed regiments, designed to envelop the enemy, with reserves to meet counter-attacks or push home victories. Severe discipline was maintained, men not being allowed to marry without permission, given only after they had won renown in battle; infidelity, insubordination, and sexual immorality were punished by summary execution. The general result was to form the manhood of tribes under this system into standing armies with war as their only occupation.

Dingana, who succeeded to the chieftainship, proved to be more cruel and treacherous, if such were possible, than Tshaka, and was eventually murdered at the instigation of his own brother Panda, who followed him in 1840. Panda's two sons, Cetewayo and Umbelazi, fought for the succession; the latter was killed, and Cetewayo became chief in 1856.

These, then, were the Zulus whose fame as warriors was unrivalled amongst the Bantu races. It was they who withstood for a long while the attacks and advance of the emigrant Boers until their amazing defeat in 1838 by Pretorius, when he avenged the treacherous massacre of Piet Retief. It was the Zulus under Cetewayo who astounded the military world by successfully defying on several occasions strong British forces during the war of 1879, at the outset of which, at Isandhlana, they overcame and slaughtered to a man almost nearly 800 veteran English troops, and only succumbed later to a considerable army under

Lord Chelmsford. When, on that occasion, they reached but failed to penetrate British infantry drawn up in square, and were beaten back after terrific losses, they showed their quality by acknowledging absolute defeat, recognising the white man's superiority, and asking to be ruled, and treated as "children."

With such a history it was not likely that they could shake off their old temperament or accommodate themselves to changes so readily as many other tribes. They have, in fact, lagged behind and passively resisted efforts made for their improvement. The electoral franchise, at one time within their reach, is not so now ; but, even if it were, few have attained the qualifications for it.

The Zulus continue to be the same big muscular fellows, good-natured, trustworthy, and beloved of householders, who find them the best of all domestic servants. They are happy, their health is good, and they are increasing rapidly. They pay a hut-tax of 14s. per annum. The following return for 1920 shows the provision made in Natal for education of coloured people, including Indians :—

No. of Schools,	541
No. of Scholars,	34,217
Expenditure,	£72,875
Training Institutes for Teachers,	7

There are, in addition, several native Industrial schools, State-aided and conducted by Mission Societies, and a training institution for the sons of chiefs and head-men.

The Natal Native Trust is, by Act of Parliament, empowered to safeguard native land rights.

The Natal natives are disposed to cling to the old tribal system, and are neither enterprising nor industrious of habit. They prefer farm and domestic

labour to working underground in the mines. Large numbers are employed as police, for which their commanding presence and sense of physical superiority eminently fit them. So far as they have allowed themselves to advance towards civilisation, the Natal Government has done its duty fairly by them. The outstanding feature of Natal's policy has been to govern the natives in accordance with their own laws and customs, changes being introduced with care and deliberation.

### ORANGE FREE STATE

The Orange Free State was first occupied by Europeans in 1836, when the Dutch immigrants from the Cape Colony drove off the Bantu people found on the high tablelands of which it mostly consists, and broke it up into farms. Owing to troubles with the neighbouring Basuto, it was proclaimed part of the British Dominions in 1848, but abandoned in 1854 to become a Republic, and then annexed again as a Crown Colony after the Boer War in 1900. It has an area of 50,389 square miles, with a total population of 628,802, of whom 189,208 are white and 439,594 coloured people.

Owing to difficulty of defence in so open a country and danger from marauding incursions, it was never occupied to any permanent extent by native tribes, excepting that portion lying under the mountains of Basutoland, through the valley of the Caledon River. The south-western part along the Orange River was at one time inhabited by Griquas, a people of mixed Hottentot and slave descent, but they offered little serious resistance and were either exiled or absorbed

as farm labourers. The native population is now made up from various tribes, *i.e.*, Basuto, Fingo, Batlokoa, Koranna, and others, but the most numerous type collected in any one area is Baralong, a branch of the Bechuana family. These fragments are, with two exceptions to be named, dispersed amongst the European settlers as farm labourers or as domestic employees living on town locations.

In 1867 Paulus Moperi, a clever but disaffected brother of the Basuto chief, Moshesh, coquetted with the Boers in their quarrels with the Basuto and was provisionally granted a location on the frontier within the Free State at Witzies Hoek, near Harrismith, where he gathered round him some twenty thousand people of mixed clans who were great thieves, and made the location a harbour for stolen cattle and criminals. The Boers, however, found it useful to employ them as spies and to use this wild bit of country as a screen between themselves and the Basuto with whom they were at war for so many years. At a later period, by an act of the Volksraad, the land was surveyed and reserved to them, during good behaviour, and they have remained there ever since under a commandant who acts as magistrate.

The other territory reserved to natives is at Thaba Nchu, half-way between Bloemfontein and Basutoland, formerly called Morokostadt. When Moroko, relative of a Bechuana chief named Morolong, with a considerable following escaped from the clutches of the fugitive Zulu chief Moselekatse, during the latter's devastating march northwards, he found safety in sheltered parts along the Vaal River, and formed a settlement there. He was there visited by some Wesleyan missionaries who persuaded him to migrate in 1833 to Thaba Nchu on the Modder River, where after a time he was forced to become a vassal of Moshesh, the Paramount Chief of Basutoland, who had

never acknowledged the claim of the Free State Republic to the territory. But the Baralong were a docile race and, though as fiefs of Moshesh they were a menace, the Boers considered it well to let them continue to occupy a large block of land in a state of independence on condition that they renounced any alliance with Basutoland. The Baralong were, however, between two fires ; as a consequence there was much intriguing and restlessness for many years, which made the Boers long for an opportunity to put an end to the independence and bring them under official control of the Republican Government at Bloemfontein. The chance came in 1885 when Moroko died, leaving two sons, the elder, Tsipinare, a heathen who succeeded his father as chief, the younger, Samuel, a Christian highly educated in England. Samuel reverted badly to type ; he conceived and carried out an atrocious murder by surrounding his brother's hut with desperadoes who first set fire to it and then assegaiied Tsipinare as he burst through the flames. The result was chaos, during which the Free State Government annexed the territory, banished Samuel, and placed all the native people under the common law of the Republic.

The greater number of the native population are Basuto, who became domiciled at the termination of the long wars with Moshesh, when, as a part of the settlement in 1869, he had to abandon all claims to the well-favoured country lying beyond the Caledon River which then became the main boundary between the Republic and Basutoland. They reside partly as labourers, partly as approved squatters on farm lands.

As the Boers were always averse from educating or Christianising the native people, believing they were better without it, the Free State natives have never had the sympathy of its Government for bringing

them under elevating influences. Yet they have adapted themselves to European habits, and are, on the whole, peaceful and industrious members of the community, without being allied to any chieftainship or tribal system. They are not allowed the franchise or to acquire land. They pay a poll-tax of £1 per adult per annum. A certain amount of education has been carried on by various religious denominations, though only a small proportion of the population living near mission centres have had access to it. The following table shows the educational conditions in 1920.

NATIVE SCHOOLS IN ORANGE FREE STATE 1920

		No. of Schools.	No. of Children	Amount of Grant.
Wesleyan	.. ..	17	7289	£1782
Dutch Reformed	..	46	4124	1003
Church of England	..	25	2111	511
Berlin Mission	.. ..	13	588	141
Congregational	..	1	330	84
Primitive Methodist	..	10	415	100
Presbyterian	.. ..	14	555	146
Other	.. ..	10	1021	233
Total,	..	136	16,433	£4000

## 5

## BASUTOLAND

Basutoland, often called the Switzerland of South Africa on account of its rugged grandeur, holds a prominent place in the history of the sub-continent because of the political complications and frequent wars between the Cape Colony, Orange Free State, and

British Governments, extending through the long period from 1836 to 1884, in which year it was finally proclaimed as a British Protectorate, and has remained so ever since. It is a little country of about 11,000 square miles, tucked up in the folds of the Drakensberg, commonly known as the Maluti Mountains, wedged in between the Cape, Natal, and Orange Free State. It has a river boundary on three sides running along the Caledon River from its source in the Drakensberg to the Orange River, and on the other side wild mountain barriers rising to an elevation of 12,000 feet, covering a length of about 150 miles, and breadth of from 50 to 100 miles ; the greater part is broken and mountainous with well-watered valleys full of rich deposits, carried down in the flood season, particularly favourable to agriculture. Lying between the outer slopes and the Caledon-Orange River systems is a belt of open country cultivated from end to end, from which the natives produce enormous crops of grain. In that part the people are principally massed, though many are, under pressure of space, now residing on the high plateaux where cultivation is possible. The population, which in 1875 was 127,707, increased in a remarkable way to 236,400 in 1901, and 497,178 in 1921. The white people number only a little over 1000, are not allowed to acquire land in freehold, and can only reside in the country if they have an approved occupation.

The original inhabitants were Bushmen who found a safe refuge in the caves that abound, upon the walls of which are still to be seen many of their quaint drawings. In these wild retreats they endured longer than in any part of South Africa. But they incurred the animosity of the Bantu people who disliked their cattle-thieving propensities, feared the poisoned arrows discharged by the invisible pygmies, and dreaded the risk of being eaten if captured alive. Within

living memory many expeditions against them were conducted by the Basuto until the race was exterminated.

It was related in Part I. of this chapter how the original Bantu emigrants from the north formed themselves into three large groups of which one, the Bechuana, chose the high tablelands in the west and midlands. From this group a number of small tribes wandered to Basutoland or were driven there by the ferocious Zulus under Moselekatse. At the beginning of last century the following tribes were found to be established, viz. : Bakwena, Bamonaheng, Batlokoana, Baramokhele, Makhoakoa, and Mayiane, followed some years later by Batlokoa and Bataung. They had sought refuge in the inaccessible mountains where marauders could not easily attack them ; some were strangers to each other, speaking different dialects, and, as all wanted to seize the most favoured parts, they were unfriendly and often in savage rivalry. The most powerful branch at that time, though not the most numerous, was the Bakwena, who were known as the " People of the Crocodile," which was their totem. This branch asserted its ascendancy as a ruling caste and from its principal family most of the great chiefs were drawn. It was by the genius of a celebrated member of the family, Moshesh by name, that all the various sections thrown together by chance in Basutoland, found existence as a tribal entity for the purpose of offence and defence against common enemies.

Moshesh was a remarkable man who possessed the instinct for leadership and the ability to exercise it without the use of terrorism. The times were savage, and the ruling passion was contest for supremacy amongst chiefs and tribes. He was surrounded by foreign enemies, and the fidelity of his confederates was untested ; he never knew when he might be

smitten by unknown and stronger foes—how soon the power he had won by consolidating the Basuto nation might be crushed under the blow of a mightier. The dreaded Moselekatse was still in the field ; Tshaka's armies were ever threatening those who ventured from their mountain strongholds ; the emigrant Boers were closing round him. Tyrannical methods alone could not have welded those tribal particles into a lasting confederation ; it required intelligence, firmness, and forbearance, together with the pre-science to foresee dangers, of which the threatening advance of the whites and the occupation of land claimed by the Basuto as theirs was the worst. It is of interest, therefore, to take a brief glimpse of the chief who, through his strong personality, was destined to win a great name and pilot his newly formed nation through many storms.

Born a few years before the year 1800, he was the son of Mokachane, a descendant of Cholwani, one of the progenitors of the Bakwena family. His grandfather, Pete, met with a tragic end when journeying in his old age to take up residence with his grandson ; for, lagging behind the escorting party, he was ambushed, killed, and eaten by cannibals. Moshesh is thus described by M. Casalis, leader of the French Protestant missionaries who in 1833 made their first pilgrimage to Basutoland. “ The chief (Moshesh) bent upon me a look at once majestic and benevolent. His profile, much more aquiline than that of the generality of his subjects, his well-developed forehead, the fullness and regularity of his features, his eyes . . . full of intelligence and softness, made a deep impression on me. I felt at once I had to do with a superior man trained to think, to command others and above all himself. He appeared to be about forty-five years of age. The upper part of his body, entirely naked, was perfectly modelled. . . . I admired the

graceful lines of the shoulders and the fineness of his hand. . . For sole ornament he had round his forehead a string of glass beads to which was fastened a tuft of feathers which floated behind the neck. He wore on his right arm a bracelet of ivory—an emblem of peace—and some copper rings on his wrist."

In no way did Moshesh show his capacity more strongly than the manner in which he nursed and humoured the clans so loosely drawn together ; the effect was to create a reputation for fair dealing and to attract to him from all sides other fragments who sought security under a leader able to afford them protection and give them land to occupy. By such means the numbers increased rapidly. The story of those times, full of absorbing interest and romance, is fully related in a book <sup>1</sup> by the author of this chapter. It is only possible here to glance through a few historical events leading up to the position to-day.

Nothing perhaps contributed more to the success of Moshesh and the enlightenment of his people than his introduction of the French Protestant missionaries of whom he had heard such favourable accounts that he sent two hundred cattle a long distance *to procure him in exchange at least one missionary*.

He was quick to realise their value to him as a medium of communication between himself and the white people who were taking up farms all around on land which the Basuto believed they had a prior claim to. His far-sightedness was justified, for those missionaries never failed in loyal and devoted service through many vicissitudes and were instrumental in winning the sympathy of the British people so effectually as to prevent the Basuto being entirely dispossessed of their country. Though Moshesh never accepted Christianity himself, he offered no objection to the conversion of others, gave the missionaries land

<sup>1</sup> *The Basuto*, by Sir Godfrey Lagden. Hutchinson, 1909.

for their stations, and gladly embraced the opportunity to have some of his own sons educated at the mission schools.

In 1839, in despair because of encroachments by the Free State settlers, he appealed to the Governor of Cape Colony, Sir George Napier, who in 1843 practically took Basutoland under British protection, without, however, providing any effective control, an unhappy proceeding which only led to confusion lasting for several years. In 1848, Sir Harry Smith, a very masterful governor, proclaimed British Sovereignty over both the Free State and Basutoland ; he was, however, censured and recalled in 1852. Sir George Cathcart succeeded him, and went to war with Moshesh, British forces invading Basutoland with doubtful success. After further years of vacillation and unhappiness, there was an entire reversal of policy, the sovereignty was abandoned in 1854, and Basutoland left to its own resources. Then ensued grave disturbances followed by protracted war with serious fighting between the Free State burghers and the Basuto. Sir George Grey endeavoured to effect a settlement, but failed. In 1860 Moshesh appealed to the British Government for protection ; in 1861 Sir George Grey was recalled and his successor Sir Philip Wodehouse arranged an armistice and laid down a boundary line between the combatants. It failed, however, to secure peace and in 1868 Mr. Brand, the new President of the Free State, again declared war which continued in a bitter form until 1869 when a Convention was signed between all the parties concerned which led up to the annexation of Basutoland to the Cape Colony in 1871, shortly after the death of the chief Moshesh, who was succeeded by his son Letsie.

But even then it was not to be peace. In 1878 the Cape Government came to blows with the Basuto

over the Moirosi rebellion which had scarcely concluded when they were again plunged in strife over a forcible attempt to disarm the Basuto. It was a serious and prolonged war in which the collective military forces of the Cape Colony failed to effect their purpose. The result was a political upheaval in Cape Colony and abandonment of Basutoland in 1883, whereupon the Imperial Government stepped in and declared it a Protectorate in 1884.

Space has been given to this bare outline of a history, so full of adventures, because it exhibits the little nation founded by Moshesh as an astute and virile people who endured through half a century disastrous wars and troubles and yet remained unconquered in possession of their mountain home. It must be admitted that their subtle prevarication and method of trying to play off one government against another aggravated the situation at all times, and kindled the everlasting enmity of the Free State burghers. But the perils they went through taught them to realise the supreme happiness of peace under British protection and to conform to any regulations required for their government. To that protection they have ever since clung tenaciously, and made themselves amenable to law and order, though their own tribal quarrels have often strained British patience.

The succession passed in direct order from Letsie to Lerothodi, Letsicnyane, and Griffith, the present Paramount Chief. A hut-tax of 25s. per annum is readily paid by adult males, the proceeds being spent entirely for the national benefit. Financially the country is self-supporting. During the period of forty years from 1884 their condition and standards of life have vastly improved. There are now good roads and bridges, hospitals in every district, and a line of railway up to the capital. As an indication of their industry, produce consisting mostly of cereals,

wool, and cattle was exported in 1919 to the value of over £1,000,000. They are wealthy in the possession of great numbers of live-stock amounting in 1921 to 574,415 cattle, 152,325 horses, and 2,748,683 sheep and goats.

Except for one Government industrial school, all education is carried on by the Mission Societies, who receive liberal grants in aid. In 1921 there were 451 elementary schools with 31,511 scholars on the roll, besides six institutions for training or higher teaching, costing altogether at the rate of £26,745 per annum.

It is a lovely little country with a beautiful climate containing a happy and contented people, and its public accounts show a balance of assets over liabilities. And it furnishes the unique opportunity for the experiment, not so easily possible in any other country, of testing the intellectual altitude to which these native people as a mass can rise on their own lines under paternal government and guidance, without being compelled by the pressure of a European population to adopt a spurious form of civilisation.

## SWAZILAND

Swaziland is a small British Protectorate proclaimed in 1907, in area 6678 square miles, bounded on the east and south by Zululand and Natal, and on other sides by the Transvaal. The earliest known inhabitants formed part of the Bantu waves that crossed the Zambesi southwards during the sixteenth century. They were closely akin in language, customs, and appearance to the Zulus, referred to in a previous section, with whom they alternately fought and formed alliances according to the disposition of the ruling

chiefs on either side whose favourite occupations in those times were war and intrigue. It is learnt from the traditions handed down by old men that the ancient founder of the royal family and the tribe was believed to be Umatalatala, from whom was sprung Mswazi, who gave the tribe its name. About the year 1800 it was ruled by one Ndungunya ; he was followed by Sobhuza, with whom the Zulu chief, Dingana, came into conflict and by whose people he was put to death when he had sought refuge with them from the Boers, then being powerfully assisted by his brother, Mpanda. Sobhuza was succeeded in 1839 by his son, Mswazi II., who, before he died in 1868, signed a document ceding his country in a vague sort of way to the Transvaal Boers ; his successor, Ludonga, a minor, died in 1874, being followed by Mswazi's son, Mbandeni, who was proclaimed as Chief by the South African Republic under powers claimed to have been given in the Cession made by Mswazi II. ; then in 1889 followed Ubunu, a drunken profligate who, being charged with the brutal murder of his principal induna and other crimes, fled the country and died in 1899, to be succeeded by Sobhuza II., now the Paramount Chief, born in 1898, the grandson of one of Mbandeni's widows.

The Swazis<sup>1</sup> were a bold people of good physique, warlike of character, devoted to the Zulu military system and predatory in their habits. They were invariably friendly to British people, and in various instances gave considerable help during wars in which the British Government was concerned. On several occasions they appealed for British protection, the first time so far back as 1839, when Dingana threatened to raid them. "The appeal," says Mr. J. Stuart, formerly a magistrate in Natal and British Consul in Swaziland, "was repeated with increasing urgency

<sup>1</sup> See *A History of the Swazis*, by de S. W. G. Honey, C.M.G

during the reigns of the Zulu kings, Mpande and Cetewayo. The Government of Natal (through Sir Theophilus Shepstone, Secretary for Native Affairs) agreed to and did exercise a powerful restraint on the Zulu rulers, and so effective did Shepstone's diplomacy prove that the threatened incursions, nearly always with the object of raiding cattle, were averted. Action such as this was so deeply appreciated by the Swazis that, on one occasion, in or about 1868, they deemed it fitting to attempt to cement an everlasting alliance between themselves and the House of Great Britain by formally presenting Sir T. Shepstone with one of their finest princesses, in the fond hope that he would take her to wife. Sir Theophilus accepted, as in duty bound to do, but pleaded that being a European, it was not fitting, having one already, that he should take unto himself a second wife; he would, therefore, be obliged to invite his head induna to act as his substitute in the matter—an invitation the latter, untroubled by scruples of any sort, accepted with considerable eagerness and satisfaction."

Though never incorporated with the Transvaal Republic after the cession by Mswazi in 1868, the Republic exercised a shadowy protectorate for many years, and, to keep alive the claim of sovereignty, frequently sent political officers to levy a small tribute and intervene when internal disturbances menaced the border farmers. One of the Articles in the Convention signed in 1881, after the war between the British and the Republic, stipulated for the independence of Swaziland. From that date the British Government exercised a nominal control; but it was so lacking in guidance and unsupported by military force that the country drifted completely into a state of unhappy confusion. This only ceased after the South African War of 1899-1902 when the country fell within the British Dominions and for the first

time in its history came under ordered rule as a part of the Transvaal administration.

About the year 1868 the reigning chief, Mbandeni, commenced to allow the Transvaal Boers, living on the adjacent cold, high veldt, permission in the winter season to hunt for game and at the same time to graze their cattle and sheep in the warm pastures of the low country, for which they paid compensation partly in vile brandy and other spirituous liquors. When once the chief had acquired a taste for the poison it grew into such a craving that he became debased, and, to satisfy his inordinate desires, he was induced ignorantly to concede a block of land to white people. Such a thing had never before been done in South Africa by any native chief, whose function it was by unvarying custom to hold the tribal land in trust for his people without ever alienating it. This concession led to many others, until practically the whole country became parcelled out to syndicates or individuals. The natives did not understand the transactions or realise that their birthright was being bartered away for insignificant sums of money, a few head of cattle, or small quantities of fiery liquor. Eventually white adventurers swarmed into the country and obtained concessions for every conceivable mineral and other productions, industries, and manufactures, banks, newspapers, post and telegraphs, and, above all, the right to impose and collect taxes, until nothing remained to concede but the air they breathed. From this deplorable condition of affairs there was no escape except by compromise. This was effected by the British High Commissioner who, in 1906, appointed commissions with power to negotiate with the concessionaires for the recovery from them of sufficient land for the natives to live upon, and for the cancellation of such iniquitous concessions as were calculated to make their lives intolerable. As a result of this action

one-third of every land concession was rescued for the natives and reserved by Government for their sole use and occupation in perpetuity. It was a sickly story all through, and only the strong arm and sense of justice of a British Government could have saved the Swazis from their own utter folly which had led to their complete demoralisation.

At the present time the land set apart is adequate for their immediate wants, but there is little margin for expansion. The population in 1921 was 112,951, of whom 110,295 are Bantu, 2205 whites, and the remainder other coloured people. They are, as they always have been, backward, with little desire for improvement in their standard of life. Although fifteen religious bodies pursue their calling in Swaziland, Christianity has made little impression on the natives, and only 2200 children are now attending the mission schools for education; a few selected scholars are sent every year for training at industrial institutions in neighbouring states. Characteristically they are indolent, cultivating little beyond their actual wants and possessing comparatively few cattle or property of any description. A fair proportion of the young men go out to work on farms or at the Transvaal gold mines for the purpose principally of earning money to pay the family taxes which amount to £1 8s. per adult male, and a similar sum for each wife additional to the first. Their great ideal is to have plenty of feasts, at which they debauch themselves with beer made from their kaffir corn, dance and sing in rhythmic chorus their own praises around fires in the moonlight.

## TRANSVAAL

The Transvaal has an area of 110,450 square miles, with a population of 2,087,772, of whom 543,673 are white and 1,544,099 coloured ; of the latter, 1,498,666 are Bantu, and the remainder Asiatic or other mixed races. Its first European inhabitants were the emigrant Boers from the Cape, who, after a short settlement in Natal, crossed the Drakensberg, and in 1858 established the South African Republic. In 1877 it was proclaimed British territory, but retrocession followed in 1881 subsequent to a revolt by the Boers, and sharp war. It was again annexed in 1900 during the South African War, remained a Crown Colony until 1907, when responsible government was granted, and subsequently became merged within the Union of South Africa.

Any person travelling through the Transvaal, particularly if away from the main roads and beaten tracks, is at once struck by the masses of ruins and debris which show conclusively that at no very distant date a great native population of Bantu once resided there. The ruins consist mostly of small stones used for the construction of walls evidently required both for defensive purposes and cattle kraals, and the presumption is that the owners were rich in cattle and small stock. The sites chosen were mostly on elevated ground whence a long view could be taken of the surrounding country over which the approach of enemies could easily be seen, thus enabling the occupants to prepare for defence or to flee, according to the nature of the menace. A remarkable feature is the absence of water in any quantity from many of these sites, suggesting that the people were forced to

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sacrifice the benefit of that element in securing strategic positions. It leads to the belief also that the inhabitants were neither of a warlike character with strong leaders, nor that they had adopted the rigid military organisation which at that time made other tribes so famous and fearless.

They were originally part of the groups of the great Bantu invaders from the north, who by disposition were for the most part so docile as to fall an easy prey to aggression by more resolute people.

No records exist of ancient times. We have, however, knowledge that early in the nineteenth century the Transvaal contained a large native population which was mercilessly attacked, broken, and scattered by various foes. The first recorded onslaught upon them was made by the Batlokoa, a fierce and restless tribe inhabiting the wild country on the western slopes of the Maluti Mountains of Basutoland ; they afterwards were named Mantatis, after their turbulent chieftainess, Ma-Ntatisi, who, being beaten and harried by Zulu armies, fled with an immense horde north of the Vaal River, creating havoc amongst all tribes found in their course. The historian Theale <sup>1</sup> says :—

“ As each was overcome its cattle and grain were devoured and then the murderous host passed on to the next. Their strength was partly kept up by incorporating captives in the usual manner ; but vast numbers of the invaders, especially of women and children, left their bones mingled with those of the people they destroyed. Twenty-eight distinct tribes are believed to have disappeared, leaving not so much as a trace of their former existence.”

The central and western portion of the Transvaal were the first resting place of the large body of Zulus

<sup>1</sup> *History of South Africa*, by G. McCall Theale. Sonnenschein, 1903.

which fled from Tshaka's rule in 1817 under Moselekatse, who either exterminated, drove away, or enslaved all who came within his reach.

When, therefore, the Transvaal Republic came into being in 1858 its native inhabitants had, through natural increase and peaceful immigration, again attained to considerable numbers though so shattered and dispersed that it was difficult to locate them as tribal entities, portions of several tribes being found in almost every part. With them the Boers frequently came into collision, and designedly caused further disintegration from which they never recovered and are now living, some in controlled locations, others as squatters on lands owned by the Crown or the property of land companies. Many attempts have been made without much success to assign them regular reserves, and they remain more or less in a state of dismemberment.

The majority of the Transvaal natives belong to the Bechuana group, a large colony of whom, settled on the western side, are the most civilised and progressive, most of them professing Christianity and nearly all anxious for education. On the eastern side are many tribes closely related to them, commonly described as Basuto and Bapedi, of whom Sekukuni, a direct descendant of the Bakhatala chiefs in Bechuana-land, was for many years a prominent figure. Occupying most inaccessible country in and around the Lulu Mountains, he defied and went to war with the Republic in 1875. Again in 1879 his quarrelsome propensities and belief in the impregnability of his strongholds drew him into hostilities with the British Government, by whom he was captured after heavy fighting and his mountain fortresses reduced to ruins ; he subsequently died in captivity. Besides the Bechuana, there are a number of other tribes, too numerous to specify, the principal formations being

Zulu, Matabele, Bavenda, Magwamba, and Amahlangana, the latter resembling the Zulus in habits and physique.

A remarkable feature of the Transvaal is the collection for labour at and near Witwatersrand of over 274,000 natives attracted there from all parts of South Africa and Portuguese territory by the high wages offered in the gold mines and other industries. For many years after discovery of the gold mines, and before the British occupation, the working and living conditions for the underground labourers were deplorable, and the death-rate from phthisis and other diseases appalling. But radical changes for their betterment were effected in 1902, since when there has been progressive improvement and at the present time it may be said that the regulations for supervision, medical treatment, and food supply are fairly satisfactory. These native labourers are able to remit their wages at intervals through a Government agency to their distant friends, and have been brought within the benefits of the Employers' Liability Act in case of accident or death from certain causes to which underground work renders them particularly liable.

Education of natives in the Transvaal before 1904 scarcely existed, though Mission Societies had in some instances carried it on as well as they could without Government grants. In that year 139 schools with 7824 scholars were State-aided, and the numbers have since increased annually to 437 schools and 33,065 scholars in 1920, at an expenditure of £73,330. A poll-tax of £2 is levied annually on each adult male native, with a further £2 per wife, additional to the first wife. But a remission of £1 is allowed in respect of *bona fide* farm labourers and those living in municipal locations. They are not allowed to own land other than in community on approved locations,

and have no parliamentary vote. They are, however, fairly represented by an efficient body of Native Commissioners.

## BECHUANALAND PROTECTORATE

This territory is part of the vast tableland stretching from the Orange River to the Zambesi and comprises an area of about 275,000 square miles. It is bounded on the south, east, and west by the Union of South Africa, and on the north by Southern Rhodesia. After passing through many pitiable stages as the victim over which various nations and adventurers contended, it finally became part of the British Dominions in 1885. It has a population of 152,983 of whom 1743 are whites, 150,185 Bantu, and 1055 other coloured people. It formed the first resting place of most of the great bodies of Bantu invaders from the north in the sixteenth century, who dispersed themselves throughout South Africa. Those who remained there were all of the Bechuana group, consisting principally of tribes bearing the names of Bamangwato, Bakhatla, Baralong, Bangwaketsi, and Bakwena, of whom the Bamangwato numbered almost as many as the aggregate of the others. The Bechuana are of inferior physique to the coast tribes and lighter in colour ; they have never produced chiefs or leaders of renown in war, and their docile character has led to their subjugation by marauders of any tribe or colour. More than any other South African natives, they followed the custom called *Seboko*, by which each tribe adopts and consecrates an animal or natural object as a totem which is forbidden to be touched, eaten, or destroyed : thus *Kwena* means crocodile, and Ba-Kwena the people of the crocodile.

There are no early records about these people. Their political history dates practically from the letters of Livingstone on his journeys to the north, and other missionaries like Robert Moffat, who settled at Kuruman, the headquarters of the Bamangwato, in 1871, and spent the best of his life with them. Through his influence the Cape Colonial Government extended their friendly protection for many years without assuming effective control, and eventually annexed the southern part of the territory.

But these Bechuana were hard to help, for the chiefs quarrelled much between themselves and were ever ready to enlist the aid of foreigners against each other. In that way the Transvaal Boers got a footing in the country by fostering the tribal quarrels and then intriguing to get possession of the native land. After a long period of violence and confusion, Montsioa, Chief of the Baralong, appealed in 1871 to the British Government with the result that Governor Keate of Natal was appointed to arbitrate on boundary disputes which were the main cause of trouble. He gave an award in favour of the Baralong, but, as the British Government declined to enforce it, matters got worse instead of better. The country became infested and overrun by gangs of freebooters, who, after harrying the natives, divided the country into small republics, and in 1884 the condition was one of anarchy within and foreign complications without.

Public opinion in England and at the Cape was strongly roused by the missionaries on account of the treatment and spoliation of the natives; indignation rose higher when Kruger, President of the South African Republic, intervened, defied the efforts of Cecil Rhodes to restore peace and order, and threatened to effect a union with the Germans on the west and to close the door of the northern route to Central

Africa. This led immediately to a British expedition under Sir Charles Warren who in 1885 occupied the country, adjusted boundary lines and land disputes, and established some kind of order. A Protectorate was then proclaimed under which the natives have remained ever since, loyal and contented. It seemed a miracle, after the wholesale confusion into which the territory was plunged as a result of vacillation and changes of policy, that the Bechuana could ever have recovered the land they now hold marked off and reserved to them in ample quantity. For this they were indebted to the exertions of a succession of missionaries who stood by them in every stress.

The later history of Bechuanaland is closely associated with the name of Khama, late Chief of the Bamangwato. When in 1895 it was determined that the Protectorate should pass under the administration of the Chartered Company, he visited England to protest against it. Whilst negotiations were proceeding, the Jameson raid, with its base in the Protectorate, occurred and put an end to the proposal. Though of a peaceful and unaggressive disposition, Khama, the son of Sekhoma, fought and overthrew the usurper of his chieftainship and was never afraid to take up arms in a good cause. With great courage he led his timid clans to repel sundry attacks of marauding Matabele. But the feature of his character lay in his determined attitude towards intoxicating drink, the introduction of which had played great havoc with several tribes. He not only drove away the purveyors of fiery spirits but even forbade beer drinking in his home villages, and implored the Government to legislate against the import and sale of spirits. His enlightened policy and gentle treatment were never approved by a considerable section of his own tribe or by other neighbouring chiefs.

It may be said that the natives of the Protectorate

have made little progress towards a higher standard of life and, though opportunities for education are available, there are only 60 native schools, with about 4000 scholars. They are more given to pastoral habits than agriculture and for that reason the young boys are banished for long periods from their homes to herd the cattle in distant pastures. They pay a hut tax of £1 per annum. Generally speaking, the natives of the Protectorate are not of a high order of intelligence and have shown themselves lacking in any pronounced desire to improve their condition.

## 9

## SOUTHERN RHODESIA

Southern Rhodesia, proclaimed in 1888 to be within the British Sphere of Influence, consists of the provinces of Matabeleland and Mashonaland. It is bounded by Bechuanaland Protectorate, the Transvaal, Portuguese territory, and the Zambesi, and comprises an area of about 149,000 square miles. It has a population of 882,460, of whom 33,620 are whites and 848,840 coloured.

There are no records upon which to base any kind of early history. Legends handed down furnish grounds for the belief that its geographical position on the broad highway used by the Bantu in their migrations from North and Central Africa to the south made it the battle-ground of tribes, even of nations, gathered together in the form of roving armies who fell upon the existing inhabitants so unmercifully as to wipe them out, only to experience in turn the same treatment themselves at the hands of other waves of invaders from different directions. From the confused story it is gathered that during the seventeenth

and eighteenth centuries a great part of Southern Rhodesia was occupied by—

The Barozwe, a physically inferior branch of the Bantu race, which succumbed to the Matabele, leaving behind only vague traditions of their existence, and

The Makaranga, who in the sixteenth century established themselves in the country south of the Zambesi from the sea westwards but who through discord and oppression lost their homogeneity and survived only as clans under other names.

From the welter of strife and chaos emerge in the nineteenth century two principal groups, viz. :—

- (1) The Matabele, inhabiting the province named after them, descendants of the Zulus, who under Moselekatse, broke away from Tshaka's rule in 1817, and after many vicissitudes seized the country between the Limpopo and Zambesi.
- (2) The people known as Mashona or Maswina, a cluster of broken tribes inhabiting Mashonaland consisting of survivors of the Makaranga, divided into clans under independent chieftains, together with relics here and there of the once numerous Barozwe, and other tribal remnants.

The presence there and rise to power of the Matabele is associated with the name of Moselekatse,<sup>1</sup> frequently alluded to in these pages. The son of Matshobane, an independent chief who fell under the Zulu domination, he at once attracted the attention of Tshaka, by whom he was entrusted with the command of a marauding army. Having won the infatuation of his warriors by a series of successful exploits he became arrogant and ventured on one occasion to appropriate

<sup>1</sup> This spelling of "Moselekatse" is adopted because it is the form used in most of the official and historical records; it was the rendering of the Bechuana. But Zulu scholars cling to that of Mzilizazi or Umsilikasi as being linguistically correct.

spoil which should have been laid at the feet of his superior. Thereupon Tshaka, enraged at this insult from his inferior and fearing his rivalry, despatched an army to annihilate him and his adherents ; but he, being warned of the danger, fled through the country now known as the Transvaal, laying it waste in every direction. Up till 1831 he terrorised an immense tract and made an attempt to overcome the Basuto ; but failing to tempt them out of their strongholds or to eject the crafty mountaineers, passed on westwards to the Kalahari border, in the neighbourhood of which he maintained despotic rule until 1837, when the emigrant Boers, after enduring much from his savagery and engaging him in several terrific encounters, hurled him across the Limpopo River, whence he proceeded to establish the Matabele kingdom. His way had been paved with the blood of innocents, for no warriors stood up against him. Such being the character of the leader and his following, it is not surprising that the early story of Matabeleland was one of almost continuous combat and carnage. The lust for fighting was in their veins and their youths from infancy were taught only to throw assegais at targets and to think in terms of ferocity.

After a cruel reign which included the destruction or enslavement of all the previous inhabitants, Moselekatse died in 1868 and was succeeded by his son Lobengula who, though true to type in some respects, had intelligence and might have consented to relax the savage methods of his father but for the hostility of his warriors, who rebelled against the idea. To the surprise of his people and of the outside world, he allowed the agents of the London Missionary Society to establish themselves and throughout the latter part of his chieftainship was often disposed to seek their advice even if he did not follow it. He had not the vaguest leaning towards Christianity ; but,

like Moshesh, he tolerated missionaries because he realised the value of their mediation in affairs between his tribe and the white people. He has been described as a monster and no doubt he inherited some of the brutal instincts of his father ; yet, whereas the latter sought the chance to murder defenceless white people, he (Lobengula) behaved well towards them as a rule. The murders of Patterson and Sergeant, members of an unofficial mission, were ascribed to him ; he has not, however, been wanting in apologists who laid the blame for it upon those of his indunas who considered him a backslider from the faith of his fore-fathers and desired in that way to compromise him.

It is possible that Lobengula could have changed for the better in time, for it is well known that messengers to and from Bulawayo were in frequent communication with the Zulus, from whom he learnt of the downfall of Cetewayo, and with the Basuto chiefs from whom he received useful advice. But the discovery of gold in the Transvaal and exploitation fever which followed were his undoing. Rumours of the existence of rich minerals in Rhodesia led to his being persuaded to sign a Treaty in 1888 pledging himself not to correspond with any foreign power, nor to sell or alienate any part of his territory without the sanction of the British High Commissioner for South Africa. This was followed in the same year by a Concession from him to a Kimberley syndicate of all mining rights in Matabeleland and Mashonaland, on consideration of receiving £100 a month, 1000 rifles, and a large supply of ammunition. Other Concessions were given, and then all were consolidated into a Company which in 1889 was granted a Royal Charter.

Events then moved rapidly. In 1890 a Pioneer Expedition promoted by the Chartered Company cut a road of 400 miles long from Bechuanaland to the

heart of Mashonaland, passing through Eastern Matabeleland without opposition from the Matabele who were nevertheless restive and suspicious. The Pioneers on being disbanded dispersed in search of gold-reefs, and pegged off farms as well as auriferous areas. In 1893 the Matabele carried out a raid on Mashonaland, as they had often done before, and killed some natives alleged to have been brought under British protection. War with the Matabele ensued, resulting in their defeat, the occupation of Bulawayo and the flight of Lobengula, who was followed up, his capture being desired. A party of thirty-four men under Major Wilson in hot pursuit got separated by a flooded river from the main body and were all killed after heroic resistance. Two months later Lobengula whilst hiding in the bush died of fever. The pathetic story is that when closely pressed he handed to two police troopers £1000 to be taken to the officer commanding with his offer to surrender; those men secreted the money and withheld the message; they were afterwards tried for the offence and sentenced to a long term of penal servitude. Had they done their duty, many valuable lives might have been spared and resentment towards Lobengula less bitterly felt.

Thenceforward, except for a combined revolt of Matabele and Mashona in 1896, peace prevailed in Southern Rhodesia and the natives settled down to a quiet life under government of the Chartered Company (later to be styled the British South Africa Company). The territory was divided into thirty-two native districts placed under Native Commissioners, and, upon recommendation of a commission appointed in 1915, over nineteen million acres of land were set apart and reserved for the natives, who pay a poll-tax of £1 per annum.

After so lengthy a period of violence and confusion, the natives found it difficult to reconcile themselves

easily to peaceful occupation or to show any eagerness for the reception of progressive ideas. The Mashona especially, who had always lived in a state of perpetual dread from irresistible raids, were cowed and reduced to an abject condition, without leadership or ambition. But under the sympathetic guidance of the administrative officers and the help of Christian missions all the natives of Southern Rhodesia are showing signs of useful advance and a desire to avail themselves of the educational advantages offered them. In 1921 there were 1002 native mission schools, with 60,335 scholars, the amount of grants in aid by the Government being £16,349 per annum. In addition there are establishments affording facilities for practical training in agriculture and industrial work.

It is to the great credit of Southern Rhodesia that its Government is doing much, and with excellent results, towards the enlightenment of its subject races. Not only do its Education statistics compare most favourably with other territories, though the amount expended is not large, but there exists a special department under a Director of Native Development whose duty it is to discover and carry out the best measures for uplifting the natives in those ways that make for their moral and material advantage.

#### SOUTH-WEST AFRICA

The territory known as South-West Africa was, prior to the late European War, a colony of the German Empire, annexed by them in 1884, after Great Britain had nibbled at it in a halting way for several years and then retired when Little Englanders were at the helm.

In pursuance of the Peace Treaty of 1919, the Union of South Africa accepted a Mandate for the government of South-West Africa. Government is carried on through an administrator in a form somewhat similar to that adopted in other provinces in the Union. Unlike the Provincial Administrators in the Union, however, he controls every form of Government activity. The territory has an area of about 322,000 square miles, and is bounded on the north by Portuguese Angola and Rhodesia, on the east by Bechuanaland, on the west by the Atlantic, and on the south by the Cape Province. The total population is 227,739, of whom 19,432 are Europeans, 177,462 Bantu, and 30,845 other coloured.

The two principal native tribes now in occupation are :—

The Ovambo, agriculturists  
 The Ovaherero, nomadic  
     and pastoral } Both believed to have  
                           } originated from the  
                           } Congo region.

These two tribes and several others scattered about in small groups may be described as of comparatively low type but sufficiently superior to have overthrown the Hottentots and Bushmen whom they displaced and whose survivors have become so intermixed with other races as to have lost their entities and many of their family characteristics. The following<sup>1</sup> are the most recent official statistics published :—

Language and Race.	Approximate Number.
<i>Bantu</i> —	
Ovambo .. .. .. ..	90,000
Various Tribes .. .. .. ..	25,749
Ovahimba and Ovatshimba .. .. .. ..	10,150
Hereros .. .. .. ..	31,563

<sup>1</sup> See Union of South Africa Year Book for 1910-21.

*Nama-speaking—*

Klip Kaffirs (Berg Damaras)	..	20,883
Hottentots	..	20,968

*Dialect of Nama and Pure Bushmen—*

Bushmen	..	..	..	3,931
(a) Heinum (mixed)	..	..	..	—
(b) Qung (pure)	..	..	..	Unknown

Under the German military system of rule, those who would not submit to being practically enslaved were exterminated or driven to seek refuge under the British flag. Their condition was made insufferable under regulations, which could be enforced by any European, without the right of appeal to authority.

Those regulations<sup>1</sup> provided amongst other things that the natives :—

should abandon tribal life and be dependent for their living upon employment by Europeans, and be regarded as vagabonds if found doing otherwise ;

should have no right or title to land ;

should all, including unemployed young women and second wives, be distributed for labour at farms or industries ;

should not be allowed to keep horses ;

should not be allowed to remove of their own free will from one part to another.

These conditions, which demoralised and were fast leading to extinction of the races, have now disappeared or have been modified in conformity with the policy followed in the Union of South Africa.

<sup>1</sup> See Government Memorandum of 1915, Union of South Africa.

Native reserves have been set apart, tribal organisation reconstructed, and schools for their education under Mission Societies are being provided and subsidised. It is too soon to trace or quote any results ; but, generally speaking, the natives are under laws that give them freedom, justice, and fair opportunities to live in peace and to develop.

## II

## ADMINISTRATION AND CONCLUSION

This section will offer a brief view of the different laws and systems adopted for the government of the natives which in the past have been prompted, partly by the varying conditions of the country and the character of the natives and partly by the sentiments of the ruling nations upon the subject. During the period between the first effective occupation of the Cape Colony in 1814 and that of Rhodesia in 1888, many changes occurred, the Government having been directed here and there alternately by the British and the Dutch, whose ideas as to the control and method of treatment of the coloured people were not identical. It was the bitter contest over those questions and the emancipation of slaves which led to the first serious rupture between the two European races and was the primary cause of their separation ; and when the Dutch came to make regulations for use in their own independent Republics, they did so on rigorous lines. The pioneer settlers, heavily outnumbered by the surrounding tribes, were few, scattered and unprotected, and it is clear that their safety lay in bringing the savages under stern control. The spirit of their fundamental law was to the effect that—

"The people will admit of no equality of persons of colour with the white inhabitants in State or Church."

That spirit may be traced throughout all the Republican legislation. If that doctrine is compared with the Constitution of the Cape Colony, under which natives could easily qualify for franchise rights and upon doing so claim the status of white people, the difference of outlook between British and Dutch is pronounced.

When, however, the Union of South Africa was consummated in 1910, although each of the Provinces retained some of its old laws applicable to natives, the general policy was to adopt uniformity of administration throughout the Union directed by a single Department of Native Affairs, over which the Prime Minister was to preside. That policy has been successfully carried out. The Provinces and Protectorates also agreed upon the cardinal principle that class legislation is essential—not as indicating a colour bar, but in the interests of the natives themselves—relating to such matters as reserves, tenure of land, taxation, passes, and liquor prohibition.

In the Cape Province, where the natives are mostly congregated in large Reserves and harmless tribal customs are not disturbed, the system is elastic. In those Reserves large powers of control are allowed to magistrates and latitude in adjudicating upon disputes under Native Law which is unwritten and which the ordinary courts of the province do not take cognisance of. There is a special Penal Code providing for the constitution of Combined Courts of Magistrates for the trial of serious crimes and for the employment of native assessors to advise in the interpretation of tribal laws. The general idea, which has proved

excellent in result, is to afford rapid access to courts of justice, inexpensive means of litigation and a sympathetic method of government, made easier by the help of Advisory Councils, to which capable natives are elected. Cases relating to natives living outside the reserves are dealt with under the common law of the province.

In Natal and Zululand an entirely different system exists. There, the whole native population (with certain limited exceptions) are brought under an enacted Code of Native Law, administered by a Chief Native Commissioner with the help of Assistants and Resident Magistrates. Above all stands the Governor as Supreme Chief of the native people. The Code is comprehensive. It defines the powers of the Supreme Chief and those under him and deals with the duties and privileges of chiefs and head-men, the kraal system, inheritance, succession, marriages, land, legal procedure, and all other matters essential to its fulfilment. It stands out as a record of admirable intention on the part of the Natal Government in 1891 to preserve to the native people what was useful in their own tribal system instead of forcing upon them civilising changes which they neither desired nor had reached a condition to understand or appreciate.

In the Orange Free State, where the native population is mostly dispersed amongst the Europeans, there is a Native Adviser at the seat of Government and special officers in charge of two small Reserves. Native Law finds no place except that it is tolerated in so far as the natives may agree to it amongst themselves and effect settlements by friendly arbitration. Otherwise their affairs are administered under the common law of the country, subject to certain class legislation.

In the Transvaal there is no written Code, but the application of native law and customs is recognised

by the Government so long as they are not repugnant to the general principles of civilisation. The head of the Government is the Supreme Chief, with power to exercise authority which, according to native rule, is given to any Paramount Chief. In districts where natives are massed, their administration is carried on by Native Commissioners, in other parts by magistrates acting as such, under a Department for Native Affairs.

In Southern Rhodesia, by a Proclamation following the grant of responsible government in 1923, power is reserved to the High Commissioner for South Africa to approve the appointment by the Governor of the permanent head of the Native Department and all other officers employed as District Native Commissioners to carry on the administration. The laws, customs, and usages of the natives are not interfered with, when not repugnant, but are not enforced and there is no written Code.

In the Protectorates of Basutoland, Bechuanaland, and Swaziland, the form of administration is identical. They are governed by Resident Commissioners under the direction of the High Commissioner for South Africa, who possesses legislative authority. The chiefs adjudicate in matters between native and native, except in cases of manslaughter and other grave crimes, with a right of appeal to the Commissioner and his assistants, to whose courts cases between Europeans and natives are brought. District Assistant Commissioners give their undivided attention to native affairs and are empowered to call to their aid for advisory purposes native assessors in questions relating to native law and custom.

It will appear from the above that throughout South Africa the system is to govern the natives in a humane and sympathetic manner calculated to give them freedom and justice. With little exception the

practice, a most popular one, is to use as instruments of control their chiefs and head-men whose duties are to maintain order, notify crimes and in effect to act as Government police, for which as a rule they receive compensation in the shape of rank, subsidies, and the obedience of their people.

## CONCLUSION

The present and the future of the native peoples of South Africa are questions that offer an interesting study which the space here available forbids. The foregoing pages of this chapter presume to offer, for the most part, nothing more than a brief historical retrospect which has unhappily a deep colouring of strife and bloodshed such as for all time has characterised the encounter between barbarism and the march of civilisation. But that era has passed, let us hope, for ever, giving place to a reign of tranquillity in which the white races are concerned to aid the development of the coloured races and all are united for the common purpose of promoting the good of the land and those who live in it.

The ruling conditions are that, in every Province and Protectorate and in Rhodesia, the British tradition of uplifting and furthering the welfare of subject races is the guiding principle of those in authority. Land, if not already reserved, is being set apart where those natives who wish can live their own simple lives with facilities for education, and develop on their own lines under the helpful guidance of British officers and missionaries. They are consulted in matters relating to their own affairs and their own interests. The introduction and sale of spirituous liquors, so destructive to some other primitive races, are forbidden under heavy penalties for contravention. The

bad side of chieftainship which made the common people pawns to be sacrificed at the instigation of witch-doctors or to be led to death in ambitious wars has been suppressed. No native can now be killed or maltreated without the right of appeal for justice.

And as a result of that form of benevolent rule we see a new picture of home life. No longer do the men paint their naked bodies, arm and adorn themselves for the warpath to destroy and rob their neighbours, or exist in a state of perpetual dread from raids. They are now to be found wearing European clothes, dwelling in much improved habitations, tilling their fields, pasturing their cattle, and enjoying the happiness of undisturbed family life. The desire of living up to a better standard is so strong that nearly every able-bodied man not compelled to remain at home for agricultural purposes goes away, during a portion of the year, to labour at farms or towns or the great mining centres and returns with money to purchase furniture or fanciful accessories formerly unknown to them. The women, upon whom the burden of cultivation used to fall, are now practically relieved of it by the substitution of ploughs, and can, whilst making their bread and their baskets and pottery, sing through their days, happy in their safety and rejoicing to an increasing degree in home comforts, however humble they may be. And the children, who have no further cause to be frightened and scared like wild animals at the sight of strangers or the sound of strife, can wend their way daily to school in joyous groups, or bask in the sun, naked and not ashamed. And this has come to them all through the *Pax Britannica*. There are those who denounce their animated feasts because a good quantity of native beer is consumed; but who that has known them will deny them this almost solitary expression of collective pleasure, when they dance and sing in rhythmic chorus to the refrain

of the heralds who chant, in measured tones listened to in silence, the praises of their ancestors, preserving in that way the only traditions that remain.

It is no easy matter to make a forecast of the future because it is beyond our powers to realise the intellectual height which the natives as a whole can reach. The mere fact that a few here and there have shown outstanding ability gives us no clue. They are now going through the trying ordeal of change in life and thought. How they will emerge from it remains to be seen. It is a potential factor in the situation that they are beginning to feel a race consciousness which, if it does not carry them too fast, may carry them far. It is true that their energy, physical or mental, has not yet been stirred; but under the influence of Christian teaching, education, and close contact with civilisation, their minds are opening and their intellects ripening. Many artisans are as capable as the best Europeans; some have won high proficiency in the learned professions. They are yearning for sympathy and are leaning hopefully for assistance and guidance upon their European rulers, who are now everywhere studying native problems with the desire to give the coloured people fair and generous treatment.

Chieftainship still retains a powerful hold upon them; but as enlightenment grows they will fret under the yoke of chiefs who must gradually disappear from the stage with the whole tribal system and its weird ways. When the curtain falls, one of the determining features in the change will be Councils, as established in the Cape Province and the Protectorates where the complaints and longings of the multitude can be heard through representatives chosen by the people. As a type of democratic tendencies, there is in little Basutoland an open-air Parliament, called

*Pitso*,<sup>1</sup> where the people are accustomed to assemble annually for the discussion of national affairs. On that occasion it is open to the meanest in the land to voice his grievances and claim redress without fear of consequences, and he is listened to as patiently as the highest chief. Native Associations have also been formed in every territory claiming as their object the right to express native opinion, to challenge their form of government and to agitate for betterment.

What is called the “ Native Problem ” in Southern Africa is many sided ; but it may be defined in simple terms as :—

“ The status and condition of the natives, and the lines on which their natural advancement should proceed.”<sup>2</sup>

It is vain to imagine there is any royal road to the solution of the problem, or anything to be gained by bringing the natives hastily under European laws which they cannot understand, or urging them to follow habits and conventions which they cannot yet assimilate. Their ambition has unquestionably been roused, and the test for the white man is to guide it into right channels, bearing in mind all the time that the only sound forward movements are those which spring from the people themselves.

<sup>1</sup> *Pitso* means calling, assembly, gathering.

<sup>2</sup> See *S. A. Native Affairs Commission*, published in 1905.

## CHAPTER II

### THE NATIVE TRIBES OF NORTHERN RHODESIA

BY

SIR LAWRENCE WALLACE, K.B.E., C.M.G.

*Formerly Administrator of Northern Rhodesia*

THE natives of Northern Rhodesia are all of the Bantu race, they number just under one million sparsely distributed throughout the territory with a density of from two to five per square mile. They are divided into fifty-four tribes varying in number from 1500 to 100,000. Some few of these tribes are closely related, speaking almost the same dialect, but most of them speak languages of their own sufficiently distinct to be not understood by the rest. Where they all came from, and when they settled where they now are would take one far back in time, generally they may be said to have come in successive waves from the north, the most recent arrivals establishing themselves as the ruling tribes. A short account of some of these movements will suffice to give an impression of the state in which the people lived before they came under the white man's government.

In the north, on the Tanganyika Plateau (North-Eastern Rhodesia), the Awemba, numbering about 98,000, are the dominant tribe. They came from the north-west and are the last phase of successive

migrations of the Baluba people from what is now the Belgian Congo ; they conquered the resident tribes, some of which may have been much earlier offshoots from their own race ; in African fashion they killed all the men and women they captured, saving only young girls to be absorbed into their own tribe, and driving those who escaped to seek homes elsewhere ; then by further raids and constant warfare they extended the area over which they ruled. They had been long settled where they now are when Livingstone visited them in 1867, and were then a well-organised tribe under a paramount chief whose cruelties were the terror of the country as far as his armies could reach.

The Awemba were essentially men of war, they kept few cattle and had no special industries. The conquered tribes had to supply their needs, either in tribute brought in by them or taken from them by raiding armies which delighted in any excuse for slaughter, this indeed being often the main reason for a raid. In this way the power and overlordship of the tribe was established from the Luapula almost to Nyasa, from Tanganyika to south of Bangweulu. Messrs. Gouldsbury and Sheane in their book, *The Great Plateau of Northern Rhodesia*, say that their system of government "was upheld with the utmost rigour, and enforced a scale of punishments and mutilations so ferocious that it is, perhaps, unparalleled except by the monstrous cruelties of King Chaka. Like that of Chaka, it was extremely well organised, and disobedience to the orders of the king's deputies in the provinces, or refusal to supply men to do the king's work, or to contribute the customary dues, was checked by mutilations, devastation of gardens, seizure of cattle, and, finally—for the contumacious—enslavement of the whole village to the Arab merchants who flocked round the capital."

To the east of the Awemba, and now separated from them by the deep Luangwa valley, are the Angoni, an invading tribe from the south. They were not, like the Awemba, a surging over the borders of a not far distant population, but were a sudden irruption from the far south, an offshoot from the Zulus of Msilikazi's northern migration. They came seeking a new home, with herds of cattle which they increased by plunder on their way, and ultimately settled on the high land west of Lake Nyasa, in country which is now partly in Nyasaland and partly in Northern Rhodesia. They conquered and kept in subjection the tribes whose country they took and, in widening the area of their conquests, came into conflict with the Awemba, but after long fighting, decimated by war and small-pox, they retired across the Luangwa and do not seem to have vigorously renewed the conflict, though they curtailed the spread of the Awemba domination eastward.

In the south (North-Western Rhodesia), on the Zambesi River, are the Barotse who have been long enough established there to have no knowledge where they came from. They number to-day about 45,000. It was amongst this tribe that Sebituane settled with his army of Basutos known as the Makololo. These were well established there when Livingstone first visited them in 1851. These Makololo, after a remarkable journey across the desert from the south, and after fighting Msilikazi's Matabele, crossed the Zambesi and cut up the Batoka and Baila tribes to the east of the Barotse. In the Batoka country they beat off an attack by the Matabele, and then moved for greater safety to Barotseland of which they quickly made themselves masters. They were followed up by a Matabele army before which they again retreated, but in their retreat they lured their pursuers far into foodless country and, turning on them when they

were famished and weak, practically annihilated them, only one, it is said, surviving to recross the Zambesi.

Sebituane strengthened his hold over the Barotse, successfully defending himself against repeated attacks of the Matabele, and raided for tribute the Batoka, Baila, and neighbouring tribes. The climate seems to have disagreed with the Makololo, for their numbers decreased until they were but a fragment of those who came with Sebituane, and in 1864 the Barotse, goaded by the cruelty of their alien rulers, revolted and exterminated them. The Makololo had occupied their country for considerably under forty years but in that time had impressed their language on the Barotse so that to-day it is there the common tongue and their own language, Serotsi, is not understood except by a few of the older people.

The Barotse were now the strongest tribe in this part of the Zambesi and, in the intervals between civil wars amongst themselves, they raided, subdued, and took tribute from, amongst others, the Masubia on the south, the Batoka and Baila on the east, the Mankoya and Balovale on the north. In this last direction they did not carry their conquests far, for there were there powerful immigrants spreading from the north, the Bakaonda, another offshoot from the Baluba, and the Alunda, with both of which tribes probably in time they would have had to measure their strength but for the advent of British rule.

The life of the weaker tribes during the breaking of these waves of immigration and conquest can only be imagined by those who have learnt something of African savagery when the African's war lust is roused. They must not, however, be looked upon as a peace-loving people living in neighbourly friendship whose quiet life was suddenly broken up by invading hordes. The stronger amongst them were not averse to falling

on the weaker and small wars amongst themselves arose out of trivial quarrels. The tribes were mostly divided into sections under petty chiefs, jealous of one another and acknowledging no paramount chief who could have held them together, or, if they did acknowledge such a chief, civil war seemed necessary to instal any successor, whom another civil war might soon dismiss, with the extermination of himself and his supporters. They were thus an easy prey to the invader or to any well-organised tribe, some held out for a time, but in the end their only alternative seemed to be to stay and be massacred or to flee and starve. Themselves the somewhat turbulent offspring of previous migrations they were crushed by the breaking of other waves that followed or were ground between these and the backward rush from waves that had passed before. In *The Ila-Speaking Peoples*, the Rev. E. W. Smith, who lived for many years amongst the Baila, writes that he had come to the conclusion after long study that their history "has been mostly a ghastly story of war and rapine. As far back as we can trace they have been torn with internecine strife, and, in addition, they have been swept and scoured and harried almost to death by incessant raids from abroad. . . . Add to this such devastations as that caused by small-pox and the perpetual sacrifices of life on suspicion of witchcraft, and the wonder is that the people have not been exterminated."

Such would be the history of many other tribes, yet some of them have survived. The Baila number to-day over 25,000, and the Batoka, who before the Makololo invasion delighted in war and decorated their villages with the skulls of their enemies, endured the Makololo and Matabele invasions, suffered from the war between these two invaders, and, when the one lot had gone and others were dead, had in their broken

condition still to endure the fierce raids of the Barotse. They still number 95,000 and live in their own country. The Asenga and the Achewa in the Luangwa Valley, amongst whom the Angoni settled, number now about 130,000. On the Tanganyika Plateau the Awisa, the Amambwe, the Alungu, the Wausi, and many others all suffered heavily, but some of these tribes still occupy a part of their own country, some were driven to settle elsewhere, some were scattered in different directions, and a few broken remnants took to living in the swamps.

Between the successive violent invasions and migrations there must have been some quieter times, some parts less disturbed than others, some times when the conquerors paused in their ferocity and settled down as acknowledged overlords, the conquered sending in their tribute to save their lives and living, if not in peace, at least not in constant danger of wholesale annihilation. There was, however, never really a state of peace, war blazed out without provocation, the slave trade, with all its attendant horrors, was blighting the country, witchcraft claimed its steady stream of victims, and but for the coming of the white man it is probable that some of the weaker tribes would have been quite wiped out.

In the north it was from a desire for protection that these weak tribes made agreements with early travellers, asking to come under the white man's government. Government officers sent in 1893 to attempt some form of control, though without military forces, gave courage to the weak and caused their conquerors to pause, wondering what the newcomers might do. As the influence of these officers spread their power increased, discontented members of the ruling tribes deserted to them for protection, the prestige of the paramount chiefs began to wane and, within five or six years, little more than a show of

force was needed to persuade the last of the chiefs to surrender, and with their surrender the last strongholds of the slave trade disappeared.

In the south it was the ruling tribe that sought help. Lewanika, the Chief of the Barotse, tired of internal strife, fearing more trouble from the Matabele, and influenced by the Rev. Francois Coillard of the Paris Evangelical Mission, petitioned for British protection and, under an agreement made with the British South Africa Company, the country was taken over, every tributary tribe accepting the agreement without protest. The people throughout the whole territory, north and south, were ready for the change. It is remarkable how quietly even the most powerful chiefs submitted to it, and the country passed almost suddenly from the turmoil and terrors of savage war, massacre, and the slave trade, to a state of peace which, amongst them, has never since been broken. Tribute extracted spasmodically by murder and mutilation was replaced by a small evenly distributed poll-tax, and quarrels which before only war could settle soon came to be argued out and arranged in Magistrates' courts almost without show of temper.

Naturally no such rapid change could come over the laws and customs which governed native civil affairs and these remained in the hands of the chiefs and head-men, but gradually the arbitrary exercise of their power was curtailed, their most cruel customs checked, and the administration of justice passed completely into the Magistrates' and Native Commissioners' courts.

By the Order in Council on which the administration of the territory is based English statute law applies, but due regard has to be paid to native customs where these are not repugnant to British law. As far as possible endeavour is made to carry on the native administration through the chiefs, whose

duties and responsibilities are defined by regulations, as are those of the village head-men. They have no judicial powers but are encouraged to settle minor disputes, and in cases before the courts involving native law and custom they are called in to advise, or even at times to give a decision. Small annual payments are made to them for carrying out these duties, and at each station from amongst their people are kept a number of paid messengers who serve as a constant means of communication between the Native Commissioners and the widely scattered villages. There are also district messengers with some of the chiefs. All these messengers have the power of constables and can arrest offenders and bring in witnesses.

The territory is divided into districts, with a magistrate in charge of each and these are divided into sub-districts, each with its central station and resident Native Commissioners who keep in close touch with the people by travelling from four to six months of the year, visiting every village and holding a court if necessary wherever they may be. Magistrates also travel over their districts usually assembling the chiefs and head-men at the various centres to discuss their affairs or to hear complaints. All Native Commissioners' court cases are subject to review by the magistrate of the district who sends the more important for further review by the judge of the High Court ; a uniform system is in this way ensured, and justice to the natives is carefully guarded. In North-Western Rhodesia all cases between natives, except witchcraft and murder, were, by the original agreement with Lewanika, reserved to be settled by him or in his courts, but this reservation was restricted later to the Barotse district only and to cases involving sentences of not more than six months' imprisonment or a fine of £100. As there is no appeal from these

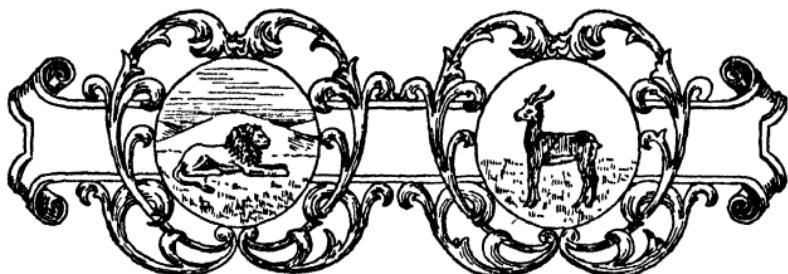
courts the advantage to the native is very doubtful and disaffection is likely to arise, in fact there is a tendency now in some parts of the district to get the Native Commissioners to try all cases.

Grants of land in the early days to Europeans, or official recognition of purchase by them from native chiefs, are very few, and these were all made subject to native rights. On only one of them, and to a small extent there, have restrictions been placed on the free use of land by the natives. With the safety that came with British rule there was at once a tendency for the larger stockaded villages to break up and the people quickly distributed themselves in smaller and more scattered communities. This movement of villagers is arranged amongst themselves, within their tribal boundaries, but it has to be reported to the Native Commissioner and approved by him. Approval is in most cases but a matter of form and report is necessary in order to correct the census for poll-tax. The land in North-Western Rhodesia, except that in the Barotse district, was transferred by Lewanika and his council to the British South Africa Company for the purpose, where possible, of European settlement, with the conditions that no village should be removed except in agreement with the villagers and that compensation should be paid for moving. Any agreement so made is investigated by a Native Commissioner, who has to satisfy himself that the natives understand it and agree to it and that an equally good site is available elsewhere, it must also be approved by the magistrate. Though there is no written agreement about land with the chiefs of North-Eastern Rhodesia the same principle is applied, and native rights are thus fully protected. To protect the native against himself it is forbidden by law to supply him with intoxicating liquor, and

guns and ammunition can only be obtained under a system of permits and licences.

The education of the natives is principally in the hands of the various Missionary Societies in all of whose fifty-four stations there are schools, with many outlying village schools under native teachers superintended by the missionaries. In all of these schools primary education is given in a native language, in the larger ones further education is given in English also. The boys are trained as teachers, clerks, and typists, trades also are taught, principally brick-making and bricklaying, carpentry and joinery.

The natives to-day may be said to be generally honest and trustworthy, they make good house servants and farm labourers, thousands of them go to the mines to work, and the traveller amongst them is always sure of help and welcome. The change has been great, and there can be no doubt that they were quite ready for it, but it has also been sudden, and there can again be no doubt that there is need of education and of the white man's continuous control to make it stable and to prevent them slipping back into the state in which he found them.



Badges of  
Transvaal.      Orange Free State.

## CHAPTER III

### CENTRAL AFRICA

BY

MISS ALICE WERNER

*Professor of Swahili and Bantu Languages at the  
School of Oriental Studies*

#### I

THE principal tribes in Nyasaland are the *Anyanja* (also called "Nyasas," or "Mang'anja"), the *Yaos*, the *Atonga*, the *Tumbuka*, and the *Angoni*. We might also add the *Konde* people at the north end of Lake Nyasa, though the greater part of them live across the border in Tanganyika territory, and the *Makua*, on the eastern border, the bulk of whom are to be found in Portuguese East Africa. Of these, probably, the *Anyanja* are the original inhabitants—or the most nearly so of whom we have any knowledge; though there are indications that some of them, e.g., on Mlanje Mountain and in the West Shiré District—have peacefully absorbed a previous Bushman population. They were, under the names of *Maravi*, *Chipeta*, and *Mang'anja*, known to the Portuguese, who were the earliest Europeans to penetrate these regions. Their language is closely akin to the various dialects spoken by the people called "Mashona" on the other side of the Zambesi—so much so, that the Rev. B. H. Barnes, coming from Nyasaland to Rhodesia, was able to make himself understood without difficulty. Livingstone, in 1859, found the "Mang'anja"

settled in the country we now call the "Shiré Highlands," and, apparently, they had been there as far back as their traditions reached. But those living farther north, on the eastern shore of the lake, only came there about 1860, having been gradually driven from the western shore by the pressure of the advancing Angoni.

These Angoni were originally Zulus, who came up from the south—probably not all at the same time; but one band, at any rate, crossed the Zambesi in 1825. The leader of this band was Zwangendaba, who fled northwards, with a section of the tribe, after his chief, Zwide ka'Yanga, had rebelled against Tshaka and been defeated. Zwangendaba's son, Mombera, who was born at the time of the crossing, lived till 1891, and was on very friendly terms with the Livingstonia Mission. Dr. Elmslie gives a very pleasant picture of this chief, who (like many of his countrymen) was far from being the "bloodthirsty despot" of sensational writers.

The Angoni, as they moved north, incorporated various conquered peoples into their tribe, so that the pure Zulus have always been in a minority among them, but the chiefs and their immediate followers have, as a rule, kept up their old language.

The Yaos originally came from the Lujenda Valley, and the hills between its head-waters and the eastern shore of the lake. Their movement into the Shiré Highlands in 1861 is usually called an invasion—it was not so in the usual sense of the word, but rather a forced migration; they were pushed forward by the advance of the Aloko Makua in their rear, and the latter—or the tribes behind *them*—were probably displaced in some way consequent on the Portuguese occupation of the coast. The Yaos about Blantyre have settled down among and intermarried with the Anyanja, and to a great extent adopted their

language ; there was, of course, a certain amount of unavoidable friction, connected with their first settlement in the country, but this has long died away.

The Atonga, a branch of the Anyanja, are said to have come from the north and to have been driven down to the lake-shore by the invading Angoni. They at one time supplied most of the labour required on the Shiré Highlands plantations during the busy season, coming down in gangs for six months or so ; but of late years they seem to prefer migrating to Rhodesia. They also furnish many recruits to the King's African Rifles.

The Tumbuka are found in the North Nyasa and Momberas Districts.

The Wankonde, a very fine and interesting race, occupy the northern parts of the North Nyasa District, having the Tumbuka to the south. They "are probably the earliest native settlers in Nyasaland who still remain" anywhere near their original home. They say that their fathers came out of the Ukinga Mountains and hoed their gardens in the fertile plains near Karonga.

Lastly, a number of the Makua people have crossed the Portuguese border and settled in British territory. These are commonly, and not quite correctly called "Anguru" or "Alolo" : the majority of them belong to the Mihavani tribe.

All the tribes enumerated speak languages which clearly belong to the same stock, though, as a rule, mutually unintelligible. That is to say, a Nyanja man, if addressed in Yao or Konde, would probably not understand, unless he had previously learnt the language. But a Nyanja and a Tumbuka might understand each other. These six or seven languages all belong to the great Bantu family and are no more different from one another than are French, Italian, and Spanish. Their structure, quite unlike anything

we are used to in Europe, is very interesting, and, at first sight, complicated, though not nearly so difficult as it looks.

The principal language and the one officially adopted for Government purposes is Chi-Nyanja (Mang'anja), of which there are several grammars and dictionaries. It is a beautiful and expressive language, capable of a rich development ; the whole Bible has been translated into it, and very interesting traditions and folk-tales have been collected by Captain Rattray and others.

Most of the tribes we have enumerated live by agriculture, those along the lake shore by fishing as well. Only the Angoni and the Wankonde keep cattle to any great extent ; the latter, especially, are a thoroughly pastoral people, whose staple food is milk and bananas. Their cattle "are the life and soul of the whole people. . . . They are well tended and often much attached to their owners." The Wankonde keep a peculiar breed, with immensely long horns, which is supposed to have been brought down from the north by immigrant tribes many hundred years ago.

The Anyanja usually keep goats and a few of the fat-tailed African sheep, which have straight hair instead of wool ; but they never drink milk. Neither do they eat eggs, though every family has some fowls, which are not regularly fed, but run about and pick up a living as they can. One is killed occasionally for food, but neither this nor any other meat is looked on as a thing for every day ; the regular meal is porridge, made usually from maize-meal. With this is eaten a smaller quantity of something by way of "relish"—it may, on occasion, be a little meat, or a piece of fowl, but more usually a sauce made of beans, or some honey, or green vegetables—a variety of which are found growing wild. There is often a

shortage of food during the last weeks before the new crops are ready, and they are obliged to fall back on wild fruits, gourds, and cucumbers, and all sorts of green stuff, with the consequence that digestive complaints are rife at this season, especially among the children.

This scarcity does not mean that the natives are idle or improvident—indeed they work hard enough in their gardens—so much as that they have no means of storing large quantities of grain so as to be safe from rats, weevils, etc. The maize is stored in large basket-work bins, the size of a small hut, raised on platforms a foot or two above the ground ; but these are by no means rat-proof.

The cultivation is done with the hoe : the kind in use in the Shiré Highlands is a heavy one, with a heart-shaped blade about nine inches long, and a short handle, which makes it necessary to work in a stooping position, but gives immense power to the stroke. Some of the northern hill-people, west of the lake, use long-handled hoes and can work standing ; but their neighbours on the south, according to Archdeacon Johnson, use very small hoes, which can only be worked with one hand, and make cultivation a very laborious process.

It is often said that African women are enslaved and oppressed because—among most Bantu tribes at any rate—the work of tilling the soil is wholly or chiefly done by them. But this is quite a mistake. All primitive peoples look on this work as especially the women's province, indeed it seems probable that it was they who first thought of sowing and planting. The wife owns the garden she cultivates and practically controls the family food-supply, or, at any rate, the bulk of it. The husband contributes his share to the household supplies in other ways ; he may be a hunter or a fisherman, or go with a trading-party to the

coast, or engage himself as a carrier, or—in recent years—go to work for a time on a plantation and so earn money. And it should be noted, moreover, that, when at home and disengaged, he often, in Nyasaland, takes his share in the field-work. It is a pleasant sight when one comes on a decent couple planting their maize together—he making the holes with a little stick, and she dropping in the grains. Or, again—but this belongs to the days of raids and feuds, which, I hope, have passed away—I have seen the men patrolling the ground with bows and arrows, while their wives gathered in the crops.<sup>1</sup>

This period of wars and raids—which, as far as the Shiré Highlands are concerned, began in the early sixties—has been put an end to since the British administration has been firmly established. But in this, as in some other matters, we must not disguise from ourselves the sad fact that much of the good which we may have accomplished for the native races is merely an undoing of harm which other Europeans (even in some cases we ourselves) had previously brought about. Thus the so-called Yao invasion, already referred to, was merely a wholesale migration, which would have had no permanently serious results, had it not been complicated by the slave-trade. For the coast Arabs, on the one hand, and the Portuguese on the other, kept up a continuous demand, and set the Yaos and Chikundas on to raid and kidnap their weaker neighbours.

Before the declaration of the Protectorate (in 1891), some white men had secured large tracts of land from native chiefs—who probably did not quite understand the transaction—at ridiculously low prices. This was at once stopped by the first Commissioner, Sir

<sup>1</sup> It should be noted that, where ploughs are used by the natives, as in some parts of South Africa, the heavier field-work is done by the men.

Harry Johnston, and sales already made carefully inquired into. Where the chief did not repudiate his bargain—which, strictly speaking, he had no right to make without the consent of the tribe—he was compensated by an addition to the original price. By arrangement with the chiefs all the land not granted to Europeans was declared Crown Land, and certain reserves secured to the natives, who are now undisturbed in their cultivation and have moved their villages down from the hills into which they were forced to retreat during the unsettled times.

They cultivate their own food-crops, and during recent years some of them have taken to growing cotton and tobacco for sale. This is a very promising beginning, especially as regards cotton ; and it will probably be found better for the country in the long run, though progress may be slower, than production on a large scale, where people work in gangs—perhaps for an absentee owner—and are merely regarded as so much “ labour.”

The first white men to settle in Nyasaland were missionaries, and mission work has been carried on by the Established and United Free Churches of Scotland since 1875-6, the Universities’ Mission reaching Lake Nyasa a few years later. Several other societies have entered the country since then, and there were in 1921, 103,000 Christian natives out of a population of nearly 1,200,000. Education is carried on by these various missions, who have in the aggregate over 2000 schools, with a number of very capable native teachers, and a smaller, but growing, number of native clergy. Industrial teaching, too, is given at nearly all the mission stations : at the Henry Henderson Institute, Blantyre natives can be trained, not only as ministers, teachers, and hospital attendants, but also as clerks, printers, gardeners, carpenters, and sewing-machinists, and many of them have

succeeded well in these capacities. They also get the chance of learning the kinds of work likely to be more immediately useful to them in their own villages—improved methods of cultivation, building, and so on. The Anyanja are very intelligent, the Yaos not so quick to learn, but more persistent, and, in general, with greater force of character.

Since 1907, the Government has contributed an annual grant towards the schools.

Medical work, which has been an inestimable boon to those people, was also for a long time carried on by the missionaries only. Hospitals have been established for many years at Blantyre and Livingstonia. More recently, the Government service has been fully organised, with medical officers stationed at Zomba, Blantyre, Fort Johnston, and several other places, and six native hospitals, besides dispensaries for treating out-patients.

I have no space to do more than hint at the wonderful work of those doctors and chemists who have given their lives to the study of tropical diseases, especially sleeping-sickness and malarial fever. The former, whose ravages have been so dreadful in other parts of Africa—reached Nyasaland in 1908, but one is glad to learn that it has not spread and does not appear to have attacked large numbers in the two districts where it still exists. As for malaria, the discovery that it is spread by the bites of infected mosquitoes, and in no other way, is one of the most important made in modern times. Natives—though this is not generally known—suffer nearly as much from malaria as Europeans, if they do not so frequently die of it; and good work is done in many places by inducing them to get rid of stagnant pools, clear away weeds and grass near their houses, and burn or bury rubbish. The more intelligent people are beginning to perceive the necessity for these

things, though for various reasons it is very difficult at first to get them carried out.

People often deplore and denounce the "inherent conservatism" of the natives, who will not do what their fathers have not done before them. Much the same might have been said, not so very long ago, of many an English village, where the doctor or the clergyman had a hard fight to introduce simple sanitary reforms. And perhaps, both in England and in Africa, the would-be reformer sometimes fails through not entering sufficiently into the people's circumstances, or realising the beliefs and ideas that underlie their conservatism. The African, at any rate, does not keep things as they are out of mere laziness and apathy; the spirits of his father and grandfather and all the dead of his family and tribe are very real to him and ever present to his mind; he will always think twice about a change that may, as likely as not, offend them.

This seems the place to say a few words about their religion. They believe, rather vaguely, in a High God called by some Mulungu, by others Chiuta, and in yet other places by different names. Much more definite is the belief in spirits, just referred to. They are consulted on every possible occasion; they communicate with their descendants through dreams, omens, or the agency of the diviner; offerings are regularly made to them, and from time to time, when it seems necessary, they are propitiated by special sacrifices. If we could realise to what a degree the idea of the spirits enters into their daily life, we should understand the motive of many actions which seem to us merely foolish and purposeless. As Mr. F. H. Melland says: "When natives start on a journey, long premeditated, but return before they have reached their destination, it is hasty to conclude that they are like the bandar-log and have forgotten what

they set out to do. Investigation will show that they have met, say, a live grasshopper on the path and *dare not* flout the spirits by continuing after so clear a warning that they should abandon their project."

Sometimes one sees little miniature huts, eighteen inches or two feet high, erected near a dwelling for the spirits of deceased parents or relatives. Inside or in front of them will be a little heap of meal, or a small pot of native beer. Or you may see the meal and beer at the foot of a tree which has strips of calico tied to its trunk or branches—like the rags left by pilgrims at an Irish holy well. Spirits are supposed very often to take up their abode in trees.

It is sometimes said that the natives are cruel because of the accounts (often very highly coloured) given by travellers and imaginative writers of the trial by ordeal and the execution of witches. Concerning this, it is enough to say, that, if we believed as they did, we should no doubt do the same—and in fact, if any one examines the records of English and Scottish witch-trials, he will find that our ancestors did not merely the same, but even worse—and we are not in the habit of considering them as specially cruel. And it is a great mistake to think that the undoubted evil arising from these beliefs can be cured by penal laws, forgetting—as Mr. Melland says—that education must come first.

"We legislate against and hang the witch-doctor—who is essential in native life<sup>1</sup>—instead of realising that the only cure for him (*i.e.*, in his harmful rôle, for he has an innocuous side also) is to eradicate the belief in witchcraft and so make him no longer essential."

The recently mandated Tanganyika Territory contains

<sup>1</sup> It is a common mistake to speak of the witch-doctor and the wizard (or witch) as if the words meant one and the same thing. As well that there is no difference between the police-magistrate and the criminal!

a bewildering variety of tribes, all more or less interesting, only a few of whom we can do more than mention.

There are the Chaga and Pare mountaineers on Kilimanjaro, and between them and the coast the Zigula and Bondei tribes—cultivators and fishermen. In the beautiful hill-country of Usambara live the Washambala, of whom we shall have something to say later on. South of these are the Wazaramo and several lesser tribes, extending as far as the Rovuma. The great granite plateau south of Lake Victoria, whose approximate centre is Tabora, is Unyamwezi, “the Country of the Moon,”<sup>1</sup> inhabited by the sturdy tribes whose broad shoulders supported the main part of the transport between Zanzibar and the Great Lakes in the pre-railway days. None of the early explorers could have got on without them, and hardly one but has a good word for the hardy, patient, cheery fellows.

South-east of Unyamwezi, in a rugged and barren land, bordered by the bitter desert of the Marenga Mkali, live the Wagogo, whose hand, in those same old caravan days, was against every man, and every man’s hand against them. Perhaps we should not be too hard on them, for their life cannot have been an easy one; and if they raided caravans, they themselves were always exposed to the raids of the warlike Wahehe on the south. These Wahehe are a collection of different tribes welded together under a succession of energetic chiefs, the first of whom seems to have flourished about 1730. The last of these, Kwama, long resisted the German occupation, but was finally defeated, and shot himself, in 1899.

<sup>1</sup> This is a name given by the coast people. It seems to have originated with the ancient Indian geographers, from whom the Arabs learnt it. The “Wanyamwezi” themselves (though it is convenient to call them so) have no common name for their six or more distinct tribes.

Some of the Wanyamwezi tribes reach Lake Tanganyika on the west, and south of them are found the Wafipa, while their northern border touches the territory of the Barundi, and north of these again, to the east of Lake Kivu, is Ruanda, part of which is included in British territory, while the rest has been mandated to Belgium. The Barundi and Banyaruanda do not differ greatly from one another, and speak practically the same language, but they are under different chiefs. The Paramount Chief of Ruanda, Musinga, is a fine and dignified figure, and rules his people justly according to his lights. It is a wise plan, which is being followed more and more, to leave the native chiefs as free a hand as possible in administering the affairs of their tribe while ensuring that they shall have all necessary help and guidance from the British officials. When assured of sympathy and understanding, chiefs are usually only too grateful for such help, and there is no limit to the good which can be done in this way by the right type of resident.

Though the Barundi and Banyaruanda are, in a sense, one people, there are, running through both, three different strata of population, which seldom, if ever, mix. The Batusi aristocracy, which includes the royal clan, came in from the north long ago, along with the Bahima of Bunyoro and Buganda, from whom also the Kings of Buganda are descended. These people are of Hamitic race and were pastoral nomads, bringing with them a peculiar breed of cattle, having enormous horns. They still own large herds of cattle—which are well cared for (the cows being groomed every day, as horses are with us), but they are no longer nomadic.

The bulk of the population are the Bahutu cultivators, a Bantu tribe who appear to have been resident in the country before the Batusi came there; and before the Bahutu were the Batwa, sometimes called

Pygmies, though they are not really dwarfs, only rather shorter than the Bahutu. It seems probable that they were an earlier Bantu race, who intermarried with the Pygmies of the Congo Forest.

The legend of the Batusi says that their first king, Gihanga, came down from the sky. The Baganda have a somewhat similar story about their first ruler, Kintu,<sup>1</sup> which may have grown out of the fact that no one knew where he came from—for he seems to have been a real person. Many tribes tell how their first chief was a stranger from another country, without attributing any supernatural powers to him. An interesting tale of this kind is the one, told by the Washambala, of Mbega, the ancestor of their High Chiefs, who was driven from his own country (Nguru) by the injustice of his brothers, but made himself beloved wherever he went, by ridding the land of wild beasts—like Herakles and Theseus—and by his kindness to all in poverty and distress. So at last the elders of Vuga in Usambara came and invited him to rule over them, which he did for many years, and his son and grandson after him. We hear much of his skill and courage as a hunter, of his trained dogs (especially “the big one, who was called Chamfumu”), of the lion which he slew with his spear on the road to Vuga (and whose skin he caused to be prepared for his wife’s bed)—but nothing of his prowess in war. He seems to have cared more about saving than taking life—and in this he reminds us of Mohlomi, the doctor-chief of the Basuto. His descendant, Kimweri, called the Great, gave a very friendly reception to Krapf, the missionary who visited him in 1848. Mr. Alington, of the Universities’ Mission, also saw Kimweri—then a very old man—in 1867.

<sup>1</sup> This story may be read in Dr. Roscoe’s book, *The Baganda*; it has also been charmingly told by Mrs. Baskerville in *The King of the Snakes*.

The great mountain of Kilimanjaro ("the mountain of Clouds") has long been a centre of mystery to Europeans, and of myth and legend to the natives. Its mystery has to some extent been dispelled since Dr. Hans Meyer succeeded in reaching the top, in 1889—after several famous travellers had failed to do so. But much remains to be known, both about the mountain itself and the Chaga people who live on it—and who, according to one observer (who, it must be added, could not speak their language), pay no particular attention to it and have no legends or folk-lore connected with it! This is quite a mistake, as is sufficiently clear from the tales and traditions collected by a German missionary, the Rev. Bruno Gutmann. I can only mention one or two of these. They believe that the upper slopes are the home of the "little people," not unlike our own fairies, who are very kindly, but easily offended, and especially sensitive about their small size. A poor man who had lost all he had in the world climbed up to their village and told his troubles; they sent him home with a large herd of cattle. But a tactless neighbour, who wished to profit by this man's experience, took them for children, when he saw them, and asked when their parents would be coming home. This was a deadly insult, and he had to depart empty-handed.

Then there is the cave, hidden away somewhere beneath the mountain, where the old elephants go to die, and, of course, leave their tusks. Stray hunters have found their way there and sometimes become rich—but only on condition of taking the first tusk that came to hand. If they stopped to pick and choose, they were struck blind and perished miserably.

The Wachaga keep cattle, which are stabled in their huts and driven out to pasture on the mountain meadows. They are also diligent cultivators, and

construct terraces of banked-up earth where the slope is too steep to retain the soil. Here they plant their crops—yams, beans, maize, millet, and the *colocasia* (an eatable root like the *taro* of Polynesia) and water them by means of irrigation-channels fed by the numerous springs. Every hut is surrounded by its banana-grove—carefully tended and manured with the sweepings of the byre. Among other things which remind one of Switzerland are the alpenstocks, shod with long iron spikes, used by men and women both here and in the Taita Hills of Kenya Colony.

South of Kilimanjaro, in the Pare Hills, live another tribe, the Wasu, who have a curious burial custom also found among the people of the Taita Hills. About a year after the funeral, the grave is opened, the bones carefully collected and carried off to some secret place in the forest by a relation of the dead man, who cleans the skull, polishes it with butter, and puts it into an earthen pot, covered over with a second one. This is stored in the hut for a time and afterwards removed to a charnel-house or a cave.

Much more of interest might be said of these people, but the tribes of Kenya Colony demand our attention.

## II

The principal tribes of the *Kenya Colony* are the “Nyika” (a convenient collective designation for the Giryama, Duruma, and several other tribes), the Kamba, Kikuyu, Taita, Wanga, and Pokomo. We should add the non-Bantu Somali, Galla, Masai Nandi, Suk, Turkana, Luo (“Kavirondo”), and the “Helot” hunting-tribes:—the Dorobo, Ariangulo, Sanye, and Boni (collectively called “Wat” by the Galla). And we must not forget the Swahili—the coast tribe of mixed Bantu and Arab descent—who

have played a considerable part in the history of East Africa, and may yet contribute important factors to its development.

Vessels from Arabia seem to have come trading to the coast ever since the dawn of history; but the earliest Arab settlement still in existence of which we have any knowledge was that of Pate, founded before A.D. 700. Several Arab towns sprang up on the island of Pate, which lies off the coast a little to the north of Lamu. The Arab colonists found a tribe of hunters—the Waboni, living in the island, and, it is said, intermarried with them. (Some of these Waboni are still to be found in the forests of the mainland—they live by hunting and trapping and collecting wild fruits, roots, and honey.) The earliest Bantu they came in contact with would appear to be the Pokomo, who have been settled from very early times in the valley of the Tana River. There is a tradition that an early chief, Liongo, Prince of Shaka,<sup>1</sup> levied on the Pokomo (harmless, peaceable fisher-folk) a tribute of two boys and two girls from each of their larger villages and one of each from the smaller ones. However this may be, they in course of time acquired numerous slaves from the various tribes of the mainland, some of whom they took to wife, and the descendants of these slave-wives, and of the other slaves, are now called Swahili—a name which simply means “Coast people.” They all profess the Moslem religion, and the language they speak contains a good many Arabic words (as English does Latin and French), though its grammatical structure is entirely Bantu. The Arabs, of course, brought their written character with them and applied it to

<sup>1</sup> The ruins of this town are still to be seen in the jungle not far from Kipini. Liongo seems to have been a real man, and poems, said to be his, have been handed down by oral recitation; he is also the hero of a curious legend, which may be read in Steere's *Swahili Tales*.

the writing of the Swahili language—for which it is not in all respects well suited. Large numbers of poems exist in MS.—some of them two or three hundred years old, or perhaps more; and many educated Swahilis, both men and women, write poetry. It is also worth notice that the unlearned people are, like the peasants and labourers in some parts of Italy, always making up songs, which are handed on, by word of mouth, up and down the coast, and often possess real poetical beauty.

All Africans sing—and usually improvise—when engaged in any common work, such as paddling a canoe; but their songs are merely a rhythmical chant or recitative, while those of the Swahili mostly have something like a recognisable metre. Their proverbs and folk-tales show a great deal of shrewdness and humour, but in this they are not singular. The stories so well known to us under the name of "Uncle Remus" are told by every Bantu tribe, and were carried to America by slaves, probably from the Congo region.

Of course the slaves held by the Arabs in East Africa have been emancipated since the establishment of British rule. It was a gradual and difficult process, and attended with some unavoidable suffering to people who did not in all cases deserve it. The great Arab landholders who cultivated their estates by slave-labour and had no other resource, were impoverished, and slaves who had no means of providing for themselves were sometimes simply turned adrift by callous owners. Many such have found a home and means of livelihood on mission settlements like those at Frere Town and Rabai. And it is only fair to say that not all slave-owners were inhuman; one sometimes finds sick or aged dependents kindly cared for in families who are evidently not so well off as they once were.

It is sad to see the real distress to which some of these once wealthy people are now reduced—at Lamu, for instance; but it is also gratifying to find that the younger generation are adapting themselves to altered circumstances, and especially that they show themselves eager for a more advanced education than that supplied by the old-fashioned Koran schools. Such education was, till lately, only to be had in the mission schools, which conscientious Moslems would find themselves debarred by religious scruples from attending. This difficulty has been got over by the establishment of Government schools in the coast towns, which are extending their usefulness more from year to year as qualified teachers become trained at the larger centres.

The Pokomo live beside, and one might almost say *in* the Tana, for they are expert canoe-men and splendid swimmers, and pass a great deal of their time on or in the water. The river abounds in crocodiles, but they have no fear of them. "Oh! we don't pay any attention to them," said a man of this tribe; "we know they're there, just as the fish are—but what of that?—Oh!—the *Swahili* get caught sometimes—because they are afraid of them!" But this man's was an optimistic estimate: fatal accidents do occasionally happen, but are accepted with a certain philosophy. "We eat the crocodiles, and the crocodiles eat us!" In fact, they are among the few peoples who relish this strong-smelling meat; and they are by no means willing to see crocodiles' eggs destroyed too unsparingly.

The Tana valley is partly forest, containing splendid timber, partly swamp, but with sufficient areas of level and fertile ground, where rice, maize, and other crops are cultivated. The river not only frequently changes its bed, but floods the country twice a year, thus—though enriching the soil—destroying the

standing crops and sometimes sweeping away the villages—not to mention the fevers and agues which are rife when the waters begin to subside. One would expect these people to find life a misery ; but they are as closely attached to their swampy valley as any highlander to his glen, and they can with difficulty be induced to leave it for any but temporary employment. “The Tana is our brother !” they say—and, indeed, with all its faults, one must own it is a noble river.

The Pokomo are not as a rule, very tall, when compared, for instance, with the Giryama, who are tall and broad, or the Galla and Somali, who are still taller and slender. They are strongly built, and vary in colour between darker and lighter shades of brown—as they themselves would say, some are black and some are red. They have the African flat nose and thick lips, but mostly not to an exaggerated degree. They are not a warlike people ; they have suffered severely in the past from the raids of the Galla, the Masai, and the Somali—and they appreciate the protection from these which they now enjoy.

South of the Pokomo, in the hilly and partly forested country intervening between the coast and the highlands are the tribes usually called Wanyika, of whom the Giryama are perhaps the most important. These have not occupied their present position for much more than 300 years. About the middle of the sixteenth century, there was a twofold movement of the Galla from what is now Somaliland (probably an invasion of the Somali drove a wedge between them), north-westward into Abyssinia and south-westward into the Tana Valley, pushing before them the Giryama and other tribes who lived to the east of it. Their traditions say that the Pokomo submitted to the conquerors while they themselves preferred to emigrate, and passed on.

The Giryama are a sturdy race, with many good qualities, though still very much in the rough: there is much that is interesting to be said about them, but we must hasten on to some (probably) still later comers, the Kikuyu who, with the closely allied Embu and Meru people, occupy the mountain region of Kenya and the Upper Tana, extending as far west as the Uganda Railway in the neighbourhood of Nairobi. They say that they were originally one tribe with the Kamba, from whom they separated over 150 years ago; and they seem, when they first came, to have found some people named Asi or Athi (probably akin to the Dorobo, the hunter tribe who are vassals to the Masai) living in the country and to have absorbed them. They are also, to some extent, mixed with the Masai (of whom we must speak presently)—but, as the young Kikuyu are fond of imitating the fashions and ornaments of the Masai warriors, this mixture is sometimes taken to be much greater than it really is. In physique they differ considerably from the Masai, being, on the whole, darker in colour, and not so tall. They are, in general, well made, and any sculptor would be glad to take as models many of the young men and girls, before the figures of the latter have suffered from carrying too heavy loads. Unlike most Africans, the Kikuyu women carry loads, not on the head, but on the shoulders, with a supporting band passing round the forehead, and one sees them moving along—apparently without difficulty—under almost incredible weights of firewood, or huge sacks of potatoes.

This is certainly a case where the women are overburdened, but perhaps some excuse for it is to be found in the conditions under which the Kikuyu have lived in the past. They are not what we might call a fighting people, but they have suffered so continuously from the raids and depredations of the

Masai that, forced to defend their homes and families, they acquired a certain skill in warfare. It was in the course of these wars that the young men became familiar with the costume and weapons of the Masai, adopted their long, heavy, broad-bladed spears, copied the patterns on their shields, dressed their hair in the Masai pig-tail, and took to wearing the ostrich-plume head-dress and monkey-skin cape. They call themselves *Muran*, the Masai name for the unmarried warriors (a man is no longer a warrior after he marries), though they have not in all points followed their customs. The men, therefore, were fully occupied in defence—perhaps, sometimes, since they were but human, in raiding on their own—and in looking after the flocks and herds, while the women did the cultivation.

Now that a different state of things prevails, large numbers of young men go out to work on farms and plantations—sometimes even as far off as the coast. You may always meet some in the Mackinnon Market at Mombasa and see how their faces light up when any one who knows their language addresses them with their national greeting of “*Wi muhoro!*”

The “Kukes,” as the settlers call them, make good workers if well treated—which, alas! is not always the case<sup>1</sup>—and any one who will take a little trouble to understand them and their ways, may be sure of a hearty response. They appear to have as many rules of ceremonial uncleanness as the Jews, and very often, what appears to be laziness or obstinacy may arise from a reluctance to transgress these rules.

<sup>1</sup> There have been, one regrets to say, some shocking cases of cruelty (for one of which, not very long ago, an Englishman was sentenced to two years' imprisonment)—quite sufficient to explain why it should be difficult to get labour on certain estates. But during the last few years a better type of settler has been going out, and we have it on good authority that “generally speaking, the relation between the European settler and the natives is a happy one.”

And rash attempts to convince them that these rules do not matter may do harm in more ways than one.

The hills of the Kikuyu country were formerly covered with forest, but large tracts have become denuded under the native system of agriculture, which forced the people (who did not understand manuring or the rotation of crops) to clear a fresh plot every two or three years, so that in some parts the tribe earned for themselves the name of Forest Destroyers. This name, however, they are now losing as fast as they can.

Mr. St. Barbe Baker, when Assistant Conservator of Forests in the Kenya Highlands, took this matter very much to heart and talked it over, again and again, with the old men—the wise chiefs and councillors of the tribe. They quite agreed that the existing forests ought to be preserved and fresh trees planted, but they could not see how this was to be effected. The young warriors were all too intent either on amusing themselves, or on saving up to get married, to care about such work. But Mr. Baker soon found a way. He called together about three thousand of them, to hold a big dance at his camp, and then talked to them about the harm done to the country—the diminished rainfall, and the scarcity of firewood—by the destruction of the forests. Then he called for volunteers who would help to stop this destruction by planting trees, and fifty men responded to the call. This was the beginning of the “Forest Scouts of Kenya”<sup>1</sup>—otherwise called the “Men of the Trees” (*Watu wa Miti*)—a body which is still growing and likely to have the best kind of influence. Kinyanjui, the Paramount Chief of the Kikuyu, has joined it, and other chiefs are “Forest Guides,”—the equivalent of Scoutmasters. Every member promises to plant

<sup>1</sup> Mr. St. Barbe Baker's forthcoming book, *The Men of the Trees*, gives a full account of this most interesting movement.

ten trees a year, and to take care of all trees—but they are beginning to realise that their obligations by no means stop here. Mr. Baker tells how some of his lads helped to extinguish a fire and others came to the rescue when a settler's car stuck fast in the mud on the road to Nairobi, refusing the tip he offered them on the ground that this would deprive them of the credit of their "good deed."

Kinyanjui, described as the Paramount Chief of the Kikuyu, has been recognised as such for the convenience of the Administration, but in former times there was no such person, except so far as, at a time of special danger, a warrior chief, or a powerful medicine-man may have established a kind of centralised rule over part of the country: even this, while it lasted, never extended to the whole tribe.

There were chiefs, but these were only the presiding elders of the *Kiama* in each locality, and to explain what the *Kiama* is, we must take a look at the "age-classes," an institution which, with differences of detail, exists, or has existed, probably among all Bantu peoples, but is specially noticeable among those of the east.

Roughly speaking, there are three age-classes: children, young unmarried people, and married elders; but these are variously sub-divided by different tribes, and there is a good deal of variety in the customs marking the passage from one stage to another. In general, the divisions are more marked, and the ceremonies more detailed, for men than for women.

The first marked stage in a Kikuyu boy's life is when, at five years, he is considered old enough to mind the goats, and his father gives him a sheep, on which he feasts with his friends, after presenting a portion to each of his parents. About a year later, he is formally adopted into the tribe, the occasion being marked by a family festival. For ten years or

more he and all boys born in the same year will belong to the class of the "children," till initiated into manhood. But this cannot be done unless they have passed through a curious ceremony called the "Second Birth,"<sup>1</sup> which takes place when a boy is about ten years old.

The initiation is preceded by a training of three or four months, as the ceremony involves special dances, which have to be rehearsed many times before the performers are perfect. The lads must also have their ears pierced in good time—gradually stretching the hole by the insertion of larger and larger plugs—so that they can appear wearing the full-sized ornaments—ivory rings two inches and more across, sometimes further adorned with quantities of fine iron chains.

The ceremony takes place annually, the "class" of each year having a distinctive name, which helps the Kikuyu to date events. For instance, some say that it was in the year of the Mathathi—who would be the great-great-great-grandfathers of the present generation—that the Kikuyu tribe split off from the Kamba.

The initiated young men are called "warriors," *Muran*—a term borrowed from the Masai, and look to have a good time generally, during the next few years, going to dances, showing off their finery, and making acquaintance with the girls. But they go to work also, for longer or shorter periods, to help their fathers pay the hut-tax, or, when they begin to think of settling down and marrying, to earn the necessary goats which must be handed over to their prospective fathers-in-law.

A married man who has two children becomes an "elder" and is called *Muranja*. When the second

<sup>1</sup> Described by Mr. Scoresby Routledge in *With a Prehistoric People*, p. 151.

child is born, he has to give a goat to the other elders (every passage from one grade to another is marked by a feast, with plenty of beer made from sugar-cane) ; and after that he must keep his head shaved and is no longer supposed to attend dances. When his eldest boy is six, and "has become a Kikuyu," the father enters the Kiama. He gives two goats to the other members and is then entitled to carry a staff of office and wear a particular kind of ear-ring. The Kiama, or Council of Elders, is the real governing body of the tribe. The Muranja attend their meetings, but do not take part in the proceedings. There is a kind of police force called the *Njama*, composed of young men (Muran), who are called out by the Muranja on special occasions, and have, among other duties, those of looking after roads, bridges, and markets, and keeping order at dances.

Kikuyu religion consists, to a large extent, of what may be called ancestor-worship ; but there is also a belief—less vague, seemingly, than that of some other Bantu—in a High God, whom they call *Ngai*, borrowing the Masai name. To Him, the elders address very reverent and simple prayers in times of trouble, or on the occasion of their solemn sacrifices, which are described as very impressive sights.

We must hasten on, to give a few words to their old enemies, the Masai, who were at one time the terror of the whole country, from Lake Victoria to the sea. In 1857, they reached the coast, defeated the Arabs of Mombasa in a pitched battle with great slaughter, and might have sacked the town itself, if they had known that they could walk across the Makupa channel at low tide. But it is said that, when they rushed down to the water's edge, eager to drink, and found it salt, they were terrified and turned back. They were hardly more than a name in this country —though frequently mentioned by the missionaries,

Krapf and Rebmann—till Joseph Thomson visited them in 1883 and described them in his remarkable book, *Through Masai Land*. He gives a striking picture of a people living by stock-keeping only, to whom that and war were the only occupations worthy of a man, who despised both tillage and hunting, and would never eat game, though they condescended to barter vegetable food from the more sedentary tribes. They would lift cattle from any other people who possessed them, justifying themselves by the assertion that they were the only lawful owners of all the stock on earth. Mr. Hollis's book, *The Masai*, gives a quaint legend told to prove this, showing that the Dorobo were intended by Ngai to receive His bounty, but lost it by their own laziness and stupidity—and the unscrupulous cleverness of the Masai.

The Masai are handsome people, lighter-coloured than the Bantu, probably related to the Somali and Galla, but mixed with some darker race. They are more fully dressed than any of the Bantu tribes, the women and the older men wear robes of dressed hide, covering them from the shoulders almost to the feet. A good idea of their general appearance and costume may be gained from the illustrations in Thomson's work before-mentioned, and in Sir Harry Johnston's *The Kilimanjaro Expedition*.

The Masai have been assigned a reserve which reaches, roughly speaking, from Nairobi to Arusha, south of Kilimanjaro. As they have to move from place to place with their cattle, they, of course, require a great deal of room; on the other hand, they can find grazing ground in places which would hardly repay cultivation. Some sections of the tribe, however, such as those near Lake Baringo, and the Wakwafi in the neighbourhood of Kilimanjaro, have settled down and taken to agriculture, and it is probable that others will do so in course of time. They are

very proud and do not readily engage themselves to work for a European, but those who have succeeded in inducing them to look after their cattle find them first-rate herdsmen. And to an employer who will treat him with the respect he considers due to a free man, a Masai will prove a faithful and valuable servant.

*Uganda* is, in many ways, so wonderful a country that it requires a book to itself, not a mere section of a chapter. Instead of attempting a hopeless task, I would refer the reader to the books mentioned in the appended list—especially those of Dr. Roscoe, Mr. Hattersley, and Mrs. Fisher. The Uganda Protectorate includes the kingdoms of Buganda (as it is more correctly called), Bunyoro, Ankole, and Toro : the first-named is the best known. The king, Daudi (David) Chwa, has had an English education, but is descended from a long line of chiefs, the first of whom was the half-mythical Kintu. These chiefs were of Hamitic stock, akin to the Batusi already referred to in Ruanda ; but they intermarried with the daughters of the land, and their descendants are darker and approach the broader, more massive type of the Baganda. Mutesa, the grandfather of the present king, was reigning when Speke (1862), and, later, Stanley (1875) visited the country. It was Mutesa at whose request Stanley wrote the famous letter to the *Daily Telegraph* which was the origin of the C.M.S. Mission to Uganda. The wonderful success of this mission is well known : to-day, out of a population of 640,000, nearly, if not quite all, are at least nominal Christians. The eagerness for education shown by all classes recalls the days of the " New Learning " in Europe. In the early days of the mission, the Christian converts were known to their fellow-countrymen as " Readers." With regard to the general degree of intelligence, it may be interesting to note the testimony of Mr. Hattersley :—

"It is generally accepted as a correct statement that a negro can go so far and no farther, and that he very soon reaches the high-water mark. My personal experience being limited to the Baganda and the natives immediately surrounding them, I cannot speak for the whole of the negro races, and it may be that the Baganda are above the average. This I doubt; but, at any rate, the Baganda can learn anything that they are taught."

There is an elementary school in every village, and the Mengo High School for boys, opened in 1905, has proved a great success. It "can carry boys to such a standard that they may be able to take up the work of tax-collecting and subordinate posts in the Government service." Several others schools on the same lines have since come into being, and for more advanced education there is the King's School at Budo, where chiefs' sons can get the necessary training for the responsible positions they will occupy—for in Uganda, the main part of the administration is carried out through existing native agencies.

Education for girls is also progressing satisfactorily, though meeting at first with a certain amount of opposition—chiefly from a fear that women would learn to look down on their national customs and think themselves superior to ordinary household tasks. But this prejudice gave way, when it was found that the girls were neither unsexed nor de-nationalised, but were taught to cook their own food and spent part of the day in cultivation. The Queen, Ereni, was a pupil of Miss Allen's school at Gayaza.

The Katikiro (Prime Minister), Sir Apolo Kagwa (it may be remembered that he came to England to attend King Edward VII.'s coronation), has done a great deal to encourage all this educational work. He is himself an author, having written in his own

language, the *Chronicles of the Kings of Buganda*, and a collection of folk-tales, some humorous, some pathetic, and all interesting. Some of these have been translated by Dr. Roscoe, and others re-told for children by Mrs. Baskerville. They are of great value in showing the workings of the native mind.

The native population of Nyasaland is about 1,200,000 ; of Tanganyika Territory (according to the latest information available), 4,107,000 ; of Kenya Colony, about 2,500,000 ; of the Uganda Protectorate, 3,125,522, of whom 640,000 are Baganda proper.

In all these territories the natives contribute their share to the revenue, either by hut or poll-tax. In Nyasaland, the hut-tax is 3s. per annum for every hut occupied ; in Tanganyika Territory, 6s. In Kenya Colony the tax is 5s. per hut (this means, in the case of a polygamist, a tax on every wife, as each occupies a separate hut)—and the same for every male adult who does not pay hut-tax. In Uganda natives pay a poll-tax, which varies in amount in different districts, being  $7\frac{1}{2}$  rupees in Buganda proper, 5 in Bugisu and part of Bunyoro, and 3 in other districts.

## CHAPTER IV

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### THE SUDAN

BY

HAROLD ALFRED MACMICHAEL, D.S.O.,  
*Assistant Civil Secretary, Sudan Government;*

WITH A FOREWORD BY

GENERAL SIR REGINALD WINGATE, G.C.B., G.C.V.O.,  
G.B.E., K.C.M.G., D.S.O.

*Formerly Governor-General of the Sudan.*

### FOREWORD

WHEN Sir Godfrey Lagden informed me that he had undertaken, on behalf of the British Empire Exhibition authorities, to compile a volume dealing with "the Native Races of the British Empire," and that he was desirous of including a chapter on the native races of the Sudan as being within the sphere of British influence, I told him that amongst the British officials in the Sudan Government Service who might be willing to assist him, I could unhesitatingly recommend Mr. H. A. MacMichael, D.S.O., Assistant Civil Secretary, who happened to be on leave in England from Khartoum.

Fortunately this arrangement materialised, and I am confident that a careful perusal of the following summary of the recent history of the Sudan with special reference to the racial conditions prevailing there will prove of the utmost benefit to all interested in the great developments that are taking place in

this immense though little-known and little understood tract of country lying immediately south of Egypt, extending to within a few hundred miles of the Equator, and stretching from the Red Sea on the east to the frontiers of the Belgian Congo and French Equatorial Africa on the west—a country which Lord Kitchener's military genius wrested from barbarism and which, under British direction, may eventually become an important adjunct to the world's cotton and cereal supplies—with a wealth of cattle and indications of mineralised areas in the southern districts which would appear to merit exploitation and careful prospection.

These facts are clearly brought out in Mr. MacMichael's comprehensive summary, and I need not dwell on them, but a few words on the author's aptitude for his task may not be amiss. Mr. MacMichael joined the Sudan Civil Service from Magdalene College, Cambridge, in 1905, and, rapidly mastering the Arabic language, soon showed distinct administrative capacity in the various posts to which he was appointed. When it became evident that Darfur, until then a practically independent state lying between Kordofan and the French province of Wadai, would probably be swept into the vortex of the Great War, through Turco-German activities amongst the Sennusiya in Tripoli, who were already preparing to attack Egypt's western frontier, I specially selected Mr. MacMichael to proceed to the Darfur frontier in the spring of 1916 to study the political and tribal situation, and I have no doubt that his very informative reports and his capable direction of the civil and military intelligence duties during the operations contributed in a large measure to Colonel Kelly's entirely successful campaign, resulting in the destruction of Sultan Ali Dinar's despotic rule and the eventual incorporation into the Sudan of a country almost as large as France.

Mr. MacMichael is also the author of a standard work, *A History of the Arabs in the Sudan*, recently published in two large volumes by the Cambridge University Press.

In bringing the following chapter to the notice of all those interested in Empire development, I can confidently commend it as an accurate, carefully compiled and valuable study of the Sudan, past and present, and one which will deservedly rank high as a comprehensive short history of a large and rapidly developing sphere of British interest.

REGINALD WINGATE.

LONDON, 27th November, 1923.

#### THE SUDAN

THE Sudan has a total area of about a million square miles. Omitting Khartoum, four of its fifteen provinces are considerably larger than Great Britain and Ireland; all but two are larger than Belgium. The population per square mile is very small, but the extreme disparity between the climatic and geographic conditions prevailing in different parts of the whole vast area, and immigration from neighbouring countries, have resulted in a very noticeable diversity of racial type and social system.

Speaking in the broadest terms, the tribes of the northern and central districts are Mohammedans (Sunnites of the Malikite sect) in religion, predominantly Arab in race. Those of the south are negroes in race and almost entirely pagan in religion.

From the junction of the Blue and White Niles at Khartoum northwards, if one except the cotton area of the Baraka Delta, the only land of value is the alluvial valley of the river. Its inhabitants, a blend of Arab and older Nubian and negroid stocks, are of

agricultural and mercantile proclivities, tied to the river banks where they have their villages and palm-groves, with cultivation watered from its stream in the immemorial manner of Egypt and sparse rain crops inland. In Dongola and Halfa Provinces Nubian is spoken as well as Arabic, but elsewhere Arabic only.

To east and west are bleak deserts or spacious steppes covered with thin grass and scrub and scored by dry water-courses, affording a precarious pasturage to the more virile nomadic tribes. The country to the east rises into the high, broken ranges that flank the Red Sea Coast and run southwards into Eritrea and Abyssinia. It is inhabited by the To-Bedawi-speaking Bisharin and Hadendoa, descendants of the Hamitic Beja with an Arab infusion. West of the Nile are the more purely Arab Kababish, a rich and numerous tribe with great herds of camels and sheep.

South of the junction of the rivers conditions alter as the rainfall becomes progressively heavier and, apart from the riverain areas, there are enormous sandy tracts stretching for many hundreds of miles inland which are as yet largely undeveloped but contain a fairly good water supply and are covered in part by gum forests, in part by millet cultivation and give everywhere good pasturage for herds. Here, too, are certain defined alluvial areas, notably the Gezira in the angle of the two Niles and, to the east, the delta of the Gash Torrent, flowing in the rainy season from the Eritrean Highlands, both of which are magnificently adapted by nature to cotton growing. The inhabitants of these central districts are a curious conglomerate, chiefly Arab and negroid. The greater number are settled in villages, though some take their animals away to cleaner pastures during the rains and return in the winter to their village wells or the river when the surface water has dried up. They speak

Arabic, but many of their social customs and beliefs are derived from the negroid element rather than from the Mohammedan Arab. Scattered here and there are various groups of alien origin whom it is unnecessary to enumerate. On the outskirts of many native townships are colonies of Fellata and Hausa from West Africa, and a considerable number of these industrious people have settled permanently in Kassala and the Fung provinces.

To the south again conditions become more tropical and across the whole country, roughly between latitudes  $10^{\circ}$  and  $13^{\circ}$ , stretches the broad belt shared by cattle and horse-owning Arabs (Baggara) and sedentary negroids.

Beyond it, from the Abyssinian border to French Equatorial Africa, the Belgian Congo, and Uganda, is a still vaster extent of territory, watered by torrential rains and an infinity of streams large and small. Rising in frontier watersheds these streams wind their devious courses through long grass and swamp towards the main arterial system of the Nile; but the greater part of their waters are lost *en route* by evaporation in the huge marshes that flank the main streams and the matted papyrus beds that clog the freedom of their flow. Among these marshes great herds of cattle are reared. The highlands are thickly forested, and their inhabitants essentially agricultural.

In the earliest times of which there is any record it is fairly certain that the whole of the southern and central Sudan, not less than four-fifths of the whole that is, was inhabited by negro tribes. The northern provinces bordering on Egypt, the Egyptian Desert, and the Red Sea, were the home of lighter coloured races, Libyan or Berber to the west, "Nubian" in the valley of the Nile, and Hamitic Beja to the east. The main transformation that has taken place has been due to the Arab invasions which culminated

in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Egypt itself had been conquered by the Arabs in the middle of the seventh century, but for some 700 years the Christian Kingdom of Dongola formed a barrier to any very considerable southward extension of their power. The barrier ultimately disintegrated, partly through force and partly through intermarriage, and streams of Arabs, allured by the prospect of slave-raiding, gold-hunting and pasturage for their animals, and impelled from behind by dread of the extortionate taxation and persecution of the rulers of Egypt, poured southwards. Those that had little stock and were of a sedentary habit settled on the banks of the Nile and devoted themselves to agriculture, commerce and religion. The owners of stock for the most part went farther afield. Numbers of Arabs had already, in the ninth century, settled in the eastern deserts with the Beja tribes, acquired the tribal overlordship, and amalgamated with them to become the ancestors of the "Fuzzies" (Bisharin, Hadendoa, etc.) of to-day; thousands of others now pushed south-westwards into Kordofan and Darfur and even west to Wadai and the neighbourhood of Lake Chad, and south and south-eastwards into the districts lying between the Blue Nile and Abyssinia.

To the south, however, climatic conditions were less congenial to the Arab; and, in any case, he found the hilly country on the upper reaches of the Blue Nile already occupied in force by negro Fung-Hameg, Barun and the like, and the banks of the White Nile strongly guarded by the powerful and warlike Shilluk. South-eastwards the mountains of Abyssinia, thickly populated by an equally warlike race, loomed up an impassable barrier in his path. To the south-west he found his progress through Kordofan towards the western tributaries of the White Nile obstructed by the impregnable hills of

the Nuba—the race which, in all probability, had once occupied all Kordofan and threatened the southern frontiers of Egypt in the second millennium B.C. Far to the west, in Darfur, the people of the southern and eastern plains made no serious resistance, but the great 10,000 foot range of Jebel Marra, the home of the savage Fur, stood in the way; while north of it the country was already occupied by nomadic races of negro-Tibbu stock from the north-west.

Gradually all the low-lying inland country to the north of the marshes of the negroes came under the domination of the Arabs. Intermarriage with the indigenous population and their wholesale conversion to Islam eventuated in the creation of a unifying force where there had been nothing but chaos and diversity before. The most important concrete result was the foundation, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, of a kingdom with its headquarters at Sennar—within a stonethrow of the site of the great dam now being built across the Blue Nile. This kingdom owed its inception to the alliance of the local Fung with Arab immigrants, under a Fung king, and for 250 years its power increased until it extended northwards to Dongola, eastwards to the frontier of Abyssinia, westwards to central Kordofan and the eastern mountains of the Nuba, and southwards to the hills of Fazoghli.

Once the Arabs had attained the ascendancy in the plains and felt secure, their main preoccupations, apart from growing enough food for their needs, were two, the raiding of slaves and the increase of their herds. The negro tribes who had not been converted and absorbed and who were accessible were all fair game, and though it was not until the days of the notorious Zubeir that the process culminated, many thousands of them must, from early times,

have been captured yearly from their hills and swamps and incorporated by the Arabs into their several tribes as fighting men and serfs. The women were, of course, used as concubines, and this fact has profoundly and cumulatively modified the purity of the race.

The original Arab immigrants must have had a certain number of camels, but their main wealth was probably in sheep and goats. There seems to be no evidence that they had any cattle. When they entered the Sudan they naturally gravitated in the first instance to the districts most suitable for the stock they owned. They found the country between the Red Sea and the Nile, and the steppes of northern Kordofan and Dongola, eminently suitable for camels, sheep and goats ; but, as time went on some cause, perhaps mere restless enterprise and wanderlust, perhaps tribal feuds, perhaps poverty, led some sections to move farther south. Here the country was unsuitable for camels, chiefly on account of "fly," and too wet for sheep, but could support unlimited numbers of cattle. Many Arabs, therefore, acquired cattle from the local natives and took to breeding them. Thus came into being the great congeries of Baggara tribes, of whom mention has been already made. These Baggara, living more to the south and being thus more closely in touch with the negro peoples, have tended to become darker in colour and more warlike in disposition than the rest of the Arabs. They are good horsemen, carry the great broad-bladed spear, and, except for the few who have settled into permanent villages, move north and south with their cattle according to the season of the year. In the wet weather when the ground is marshy they migrate northwards to the sandy soil and the vicinity of the villages. In the dry weather they visit the fringes of the negro Dinka country in the south.

Let us now glance at the pagan tribes of the south. In the extreme south the Sudan marches successively with Abyssinia, Kenya, Uganda, the Belgian Congo and French Equatorial Africa. The negro tribes in the immediate vicinity of the border and in the highlands—wild Toposa, Dodinga, Acholi, Madi, etc., to the east of the Nile, and Azandi, Bongo, Kreish, "Fertit," etc., to the west—probably have certain Bantu affinities. They are an agricultural people, fetish-ridden, and in some parts addicted to secret societies. The western group in particular suffered very severely from 1870 onwards at the hands of Zubeir and his followers. But the main bulk of the population in the great southern provinces of the Bahr el Ghazal, Mongalla, and the Sobat-Pibor (together totalling nearly 250,000 square miles, with a population of perhaps 2,000,000 in the Bahr el Ghazal alone) are Nilotc negroes, Dinka, Nuer, Anuak, etc., a tall, long-shanked polygamous people living in nakedness and savagery, breeders of the long-horned cattle which form almost their sole wealth and sole preoccupation. They live in their swamps by their cattle and for their cattle. Their tribal disputes arise chiefly from their cattle and are settled in terms of cattle. They extract the lower incisors and smear themselves with wood-ash as a protection against mosquitoes. The authority of their secular chiefs is more nominal than real, and the actual power is vested in medicine men and rain-makers. The vastness and inaccessibility of their country, and the terror inspired by the great slave-raiding expeditions of fifty years ago, still make it difficult to get into touch with them and establish confidence. Patrols have inevitably been necessitated from time to time; but, more than these have tireless patience, hard work, and sympathy now begun to bring about a welcome change in the attitude of most of these savage tribes,

and led to some realisation of our bona fides and the benefits of peace and protection.

Remotely cognate to these people, but vastly superior in tribal organisation, physique, and mentality, are the Nilotc Shilluk, living in villages along the west bank of the White Nile from opposite the Sobat outlet to the twelfth parallel. The Turco-Egyptian Government and the Dervishes both treated them as though they were vermin to be hunted and caught, and depleted their numbers by slaughter and enslavement, but they are a prolific people and are now multiplying apace. Under a single king, who is regarded as of divine origin and from whom the succession passes in the female line, they live a peaceable and orderly existence with few needs but the corn they grow, the fish they spear, and the cattle they breed. Their remarkable headdress is composed of natural hair, matted and clipped into fantastic and enormous designs. Away to the west of the Shilluk country, in the Baggara belt, are the mountains of the Nuba. They, too, are cattle-breeders, but not to the same extent as the Nilotc tribes, from whom they entirely differ physically and culturally. They believe in a Supreme Deity, look to the spirits of their ancestors for guidance, and are largely influenced by rain-makers. Wrestling is a national sport in some hills. The rocky massifs in which they live form a series of entirely independent strongholds, each ruled by its own king (Mek), and each, as a rule, speaking a different language, though, curiously enough, it sometimes happens that two hills, separated by other hills of alien speech, understand each other. The hills are almost inaccessible and honeycombed with caves. It will be readily understood that the administration of these people has been no easy problem. Not only are they warlike and stalwart, but ancient experience has taught them to be profoundly distrustful of all dwellers in the plain,

for not only have the Arabs been their natural foes from time immemorial, but the old Turkish Government, and the Dervishes who succeeded them, always had in view the same object as the Arabs—the capture of slaves. The present Government was consequently faced by a difficult task. If one hill submitted, the next hill promptly raided it. If one hill paid some taxes, its neighbours boasted of their own immunity, and delighted in waylaying and murdering a policeman or defying the Government in any similar way that presented itself. If one hill brought retribution on itself, the effect on the rest was negligible. Firmness and patience, however, have now had their reward, and not only have many of the villages moved down to the foot of the hills, but a light taxation is paid, relations with the Baggara Arabs have become fairly amicable, a few schools have been opened, recruiting for the army and the police has been very successful, and the Nuba of the eastern hills even travel to the White Nile and beyond it in search of work and wages. The population is large and the type a fine one. In the future these Nuba should prove a considerable asset in the economic development of the country.

Still farther west, in Darfur, are a variety of debased negroid tribes. Some of the elements composing these have come eastwards from Wadai and Borgu, some from Nubia, some from the south ("Fertit" for the most part), and some from Ennedi and Tibesti in the north-west. In the west and centre of the province the population is Fur, originally hillmen of Jebel Marra and Jebel Si. These, late in the sixteenth century, under an Arab hegemony, founded a powerful sultanate which attained its zenith towards the end of the eighteenth century and extended its control for a short time as far as the banks of the main Nile. Its power was broken by the Turks and bands of

Arab slave-dealers in the following century ; but the sultanate survived in name throughout the Turkish period and that of the Dervishes and a native sultan was left to rule Darfur after the British reoccupation of the Sudan. Soon after the outbreak of the Great War, however, the sultan elected to throw off his nominal allegiance and threaten to invade Kordofan. It was consequently necessary to send an expedition and take over the administration of the country. It is now peaceful and administered in the same way as the rest of the country. Its soil is rich and well-watered and there are mineral possibilities in the south, but its enormous distance from railhead—some 400 miles from El Obeid, the capital of Kordofan—detracts very seriously from its economic value, and its retention is a duty and a safeguard against anarchy and oppression rather than an earnest of material advantage.

To understand the administrative problem in the Sudan it is necessary first to recall very briefly the relations that have subsisted during the past century between Arab and Negro on the one hand and the central authority on the other.

The Turko-Egyptian army invaded the Sudan in 1820-21, lured by the hope of slaves, ivory and gold. They made short work of the Shaigia-Gaaliin tribes in Nubia, the disintegrated Fung power in the Gezira, and, at a later date, of the Fur régime in Kordofan. Elsewhere in the northern and central districts, where tribal cohesion was lacking, they met with little opposition. The relations of the Government with the negro south was limited to slave-trading and slave-hunting expeditions, in which Arab merchants shared the risks and the proceeds. In fact, for a decade or two from 1870, the Bahr el Ghazal, Southern Darfur and the negro country to the west were entirely under the domination of these powerful and well-armed

slavers and was utterly devastated by them. In the rest of the country the administrative system, so far as one could be said to exist, was also directed, though in a slightly less blatant form, to the exploitation of the country. The courts were corrupt and arbitrary. Education and health were entirely neglected. The tribal chiefs were left to manage their own people as they liked, on condition they produced the heavy taxes that were assessed by headquarters. It is doubtful whether any so-called civilised government ever maladministered a country more grossly. The senior officials were, with few exceptions, men of a bad type—men of whom Egypt found it convenient to be rid, or adventurers who hoped to extract a rapid fortune from the unhappy natives and enjoy it in debauchery. The clerical staff were hopelessly venal and the troops no more than licensed freebooters. For sixty years the country groaned under its burden of corruption, extortion and neglect, and the gallant efforts of the few Englishmen who, during the latter half of the period, were deputed under the pressure of European protests against the slave trade, to make an attempt to reform the system and stamp out the more glaring abuses, had but little effect in stemming the swelling tide of discontent. In 1881 matters came to a head and a religious revivalist, the Mahdi Mohammed Ahmed, in a short time succeeded in uniting the whole country in revolt. General Gordon's heroic defence of Khartoum and his fate in January, 1885, formed the final scene of this act of the drama. In the same year the Mahdi died and was succeeded by his lieutenant, the Khalifa Abdullahi, one of the Baggara Arabs, a Taaishi by tribe. The comparatively mild rule and reforming zeal of the Mahdi were soon replaced by a ruthless autocratic despotism. Not trusting any other tribe but his own, the Khalifa took the drastic step of

transplanting the whole of the warlike Taishi from Darfur to Omdurman to serve as a bodyguard and rallying-centre for the "loyalists" in dealing with the recalcitrant. His ideas of administration went no farther than this. Blind obedience was demanded and if it was not forthcoming extirpation followed. "Amirs" were appointed to rule over the several provinces, but the sole qualifications of the majority were loyalty, courage and ruthlessness. Everlasting punitive expeditions—frequently undertaken with no other object than to satisfy the Dervish soldiery with loot—insurrections, frontier wars and epidemics of disease decimated the population. Much of the land went out of cultivation and reverted to scrub and the small trade and industries of the country simply ceased to exist.

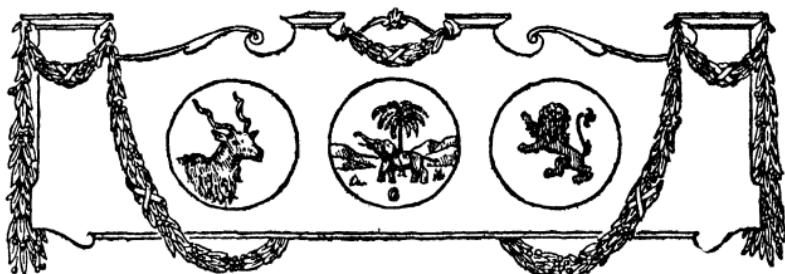
It is easy, therefore, to understand how, when the British and Egyptian troops, under Sir H. Kitchener, had once broken the standing armies of the Khalifa in 1898, and the contrast between our methods and those of the past had become apparent, the country was very willing to accept us and settle down to peace and quiet. We started, indeed, with every moral advantage but with little else. In spite of all the difficulties, however, a wonderful progress in the work of reconstruction and regeneration has been achieved under the direction of Sir Reginald Wingate (1899-1917) and Sir Lee Stack, his successor. This is not the place to speak of budgets running to millions, of vast schemes of cotton development, of harnessing the waters of the Nile, of growing trade returns; but the boons they will confer upon the tribes of the Sudan will be incalculable, since native rights will, in the future as in the past, be fully safeguarded, and the essential criterion be the amount of benefit which each scheme will confer upon the people of the country as well as upon the Empire as a whole. The success

of the policy followed for the last twenty-four years is best evidenced by the peace and prosperity of the Sudan at the present day. Courts of justice, schools and hospitals have been founded in every province, a railway runs from Halfa and Port Sudan to Khartoum and on through the Gezira to Kordofan, and a line is now being built to link up the cotton areas of Kassala with the Port Sudan line. Restrictive legislation has been framed and enforced to prevent the sale of liquor to natives native rights to land have been carefully safeguarded, the richer riverain areas have been registered, and every precaution has been taken to prevent the sale by natives of their land to foreigners or fortune-hunters. Agricultural, medical and veterinary research have been promoted. So far as funds permit, an intensive campaign against the dreadful scourge of sleeping sickness in the Bahr el Ghazal and Mongalla is being waged and efforts have been made consistently to cope with the cattle plague.

In the administrative sphere the policy of the Government has been to choose the best men and give them a free hand subject to their observing the general principles approved. These general principles may be summed up in the words of the Milner Report : "Having regard to its vast extent and the varied character of its inhabitants, the administration of its different parts should be left, as far as possible, in the hands of the native authorities, wherever they exist, under British supervision. . . ." Thus, in addition to the employment of native clerical officials and artisans and of a certain number of native administrative officials under British control, the training of native teachers and doctors and departmental employees, the appointment of natives of the best class as magistrates, and the inauguration of Municipal Councils in one or two of the large towns, every effort has been made to encourage and support the authority

of the tribal chiefs, so long as they remain loyal and keep the respect of their own people, and to induce them to settle their inter-tribal and inter-village disputes in amicable conclave instead of by recourse to violence or by unnecessary reference to Government officials. By this means, it is believed, justice does not essentially suffer in the long run, a greater self-respect is maintained, the rule of an alien race ceases to seem an ever present burden, patriotism begins to be a comprehensible idea, the way is kept clear for a yet greater measure of self-government when the times are ripe for it and the undesirable multiplication of salaried officials is avoided.

The British official is not merely a ruler, but a guide, philosopher, and friend. He already has the confidence of the native, and his task is to steer him along lines of development compatible with his racial characteristics, social customs and economic needs.



Badges of  
Somaliland. Gambia. East Africa Protectorate.

## CHAPTER V

# THE NATIVE RACES OF THE BRITISH WEST AFRICAN COLONIES

BY

DR. J. C. MAXWELL, C.M.G.,  
*Colonial Secretary, Gold Coast;*

WITH A FOREWORD BY

THE RIGHT HON. SIR FREDERICK LUGARD, P.C.,  
G.C.M.G., C.B., D.S.O.,

*Formerly Governor-General of Nigeria.*

## FOREWORD

A PERUSAL of Dr. Maxwell's monograph on the races of West Africa can hardly fail to leave a vivid impression of the complexity of the theme and the difficulty of condensing into a few pages the varied knowledge at his command. The hundreds of different tribes, each with its separate characteristics, beliefs, languages, customs and stage of evolution, present a Mosaic of humanity whose various units it is difficult for the Ethnologist to distinguish in the confused history of migrations, conquests and inter-tribal absorptions, and a still more difficult task for the administrator whose aim it is to base his scheme of progress and evolution on what is best in the traditions and customs of each unit.

In this jumble of tribes the British Administrator sets himself to assist the most primitive in their evolution from the disunited agglomeration of separate

families with no common head, no acknowledged appeal to law and justice and no co-operation for the common welfare, to the stage of tribal discipline and the recognition of a common interest. He must evolve such tribunals as will meet the needs of the people, and must substitute for the conception of private vengeance that of punishment for wrongdoing against the welfare of the community. He must replace the fetish ordeal by an arbitrament which will gain the confidence of primitive peoples. He must build up a social and political organisation which is not based on alien conceptions not understood by the people. He must provide such simple education as will raise the level of intelligence and instil conceptions of honesty and of purpose in life. Among those communities which have already attained in varying degrees a measure of social organisation it will be his task to see to the integrity of the native rulers and courts of justice; to provide an education which shall promote progress without denationalisation. His aim, whether in the tribal councils and courts, or in the education of the individual, will be to promote a sense of responsibility and integrity.

Such a glimpse as Dr. Maxwell from his long and intimate experience affords us of the conditions which obtain among the backward races of West Africa enables us to realise how difficult, how important, and how absorbing is the task to which Great Britain has set her hand in Africa. The coloured population of Nigeria alone is greater than the aggregate white population of all the five self-governing dominions. There are many other nations—French, Belgians, Italians, and Portugueses—engaged in the same task, and we must see to it that the results we obtain are not less creditable than theirs.

The problems these countries present cannot be

solved by doctrinaire methods—however sound in principle and theory. To command success they must be adapted to the mentality and traditions, often greatly varying, of the different communities. And of all these problems—methods of government, taxation, free labour, administration of justice, land laws, etc.,—the most important by far is education. Upon its aim and method depends the character and progress of future generations.

That the importance of the task is gaining an increasing recognition is shown by the article of the Covenant of the League of Nations which deals with the administration of the former German and Turkish Colonies, assigned under mandate to different Powers. It substitutes the principle of trusteeship for that of material exploitation as the standard of the twentieth century in its dealings with backward races. And since the responsibilities which the Empire has undertaken in this matter are great, it is of great value that the British nation should realise something of the nature of the task and of the peoples themselves whom Dr. Maxwell has portrayed in these pages.

FREDERICK LUGARD.

*2nd January, 1924.*

#### THE NATIVE RACES OF THE BRITISH WEST AFRICAN COLONIES

INCLUDING in West Africa the Sahara on the north and the Belgian Congo on the south, the total area of West Africa is 5,569,000 square miles, and the population approximately 48,100,100. The four British Dependencies included in this area comprise only 8.83 per cent. of the area, but contain 45.0 per cent. of the total population.

		Area. Sq. Miles.	Population
The Gambia	.. ..	4,100	210,530
Sierra Leone	.. ..	29,000	1,541,311
Gold Coast, Ashanti, and Northern Territories		91,690	2,298,383
Nigeria	.. .. ..	367,200	17,590,657
		491,990	21,640,881

In the Gambia and Sierra Leone there is a house-tax paid into the general revenue of the two colonies in Nigeria, in the northern, and some of the southern provinces there are property and cattle-taxes, half of which support the well-organised native administrations, while the other half, which in 1921-22 amounted to £620,721, forms part of the general revenue of the colony. In the Gold Coast there is no form of direct taxation.

In common with the neighbouring French West African Colonies, the native races in British West Africa belong to what are known as the negro and negroid races, though amongst them there are still races like the Fulah and the Shua Arab who, when of pure blood, are not negro at all.

So far as is known, the earliest inhabitants of West Africa were of a primitive negro type. If modern theories be true, sometime in the remote past the negro race started out on its migration from its original home in Western Asia, a migration which led one branch to the islands of the Western Pacific and another through Egypt and across Africa until it reached the shores of the Atlantic. What caused the original migration there is now no means of knowing, for we are dealing with peoples who have left no monuments and no primitive records save a few rude drawings on rocks and whose progress across Africa has been buried beneath the movements of other races. When this

migration took place the face of Africa was different from what it is to-day ; the Sahara was the site of a large inland sea : it was to the south of this sea that the human wave flowed.

There were successive migrations of peoples from east to west, some possibly of primitive negro types similar to the first, others unquestionably of a higher type and in possession of a higher civilisation. These latter are what are termed the negroid races, probably the result of hybridisation of the negro and Hamitic races. In addition there have been migrations or invasions of pure Semitic peoples from the east and from the north, some of which have occurred in the historic period ; for the traditions of some of the kingdoms that at one time existed in the Sudan speak of them as having at first been ruled by white kings. The main types of the negro and negroid races found now in West Africa were in all probability well established before the beginning of the Christian era ; the present geographical distribution is, however, much more recent and in some instances has only been settled within the last century and a half.

The native races in West Africa have a composite origin ; in addition environment and disease have been potent factors in moulding them to their present forms. This is especially true of the area lying between the Gulf of Guinea and the ninth degree of north latitude. North of this the country is comparatively healthy ; to the south are the forest and swamp lands of West Africa, the home of malaria, sleeping sickness, and other diseases which not only exacted a heavy toll of lives but brought about physical and sometimes moral deterioration. The effects of environment are probably also seen in such races as the Pigmy, now found only in the Congo forests, for they are now generally regarded as a degenerate and not a primitive type of negro.

While recent research has thrown considerable light on the history and civilisation of the peoples who inhabited Upper Egypt and the lands lying around the Mediterranean, several thousand years before Christ, West Africa, both as regards the peoples of the coast and of the interior was, until comparatively recent times, an unknown land.

The enterprising Phœnicians who founded trading stations on the coast of North Africa and sent their ships to the coast of Britain for tin, several hundred years before Christ, may have sailed southward as well as northward and have reached the West Coast of Africa by sea, but no record of their discoveries now exists. It is certain that Hanno the Carthaginian reached the Gambia and Sierra Leone about 520 B.C. He mentions a race of men clothed in skins who threw stones at his sailors, but from his time for nearly two thousand years there is no record of any voyages to West Africa. With the possible exception of French sailors from Dieppe in the fourteenth century, the next voyage we hear of is that of the Portuguese in 1446.

Herodotus, writing more than five hundred years before Christ, records an expedition which attempted to cross Africa from the north and which found "diminutive men, less than men of middle stature." These men conducted the expedition through morasses to "a city in which all the inhabitants were of the same size as their conductors and black in colour; and by the city flowed a great river running from the west to the east and crocodiles were in it." It is now generally believed that the river referred to is the Niger and that the diminutive men are the pygmies who are not found now in West Africa except in the Congo forests.

After the fall of Carthage in 146 B.C., the Romans attempted to cross Africa and may have reached

Lake Chad, but any records of this and other expeditions that were made have been irrecoverably lost. It is known that some of the races in the Sudan are partly of Berber origin, that is, of the same race which inhabited North Africa during both Carthaginian and Roman domination, but there are no reliable records of the intercourse between North and West Africa until the eighth century A.D. These records we owe to the Arab historians of the Mohammedan conquest of North Africa and the Sudan. The Arab conquerors of the Western Sudan found pagan kingdoms which had attained a certain degree of civilisation and which after the adoption of the Mohammedan faith attained a still higher degree, imperfect, perhaps, according to modern standards but at its zenith higher than the races of Northern Europe attained at the same period of time. The earliest of these is the Kingdom of Ghana which is believed to have lasted 1100 years, and at one time to have had white rulers. It is recorded that the son of the king's sister succeeded to the throne, a law of succession still found amongst the Ashanti and other peoples. The Kingdom of Melle lasted for two hundred and fifty years. The Mandingo races found in the Gambia and Sierra Leone and French Guinea are the descendants of the people of the ancient Kingdom of Melle, and in Northern Nigeria there are also tribes whose traditions link them to this kingdom. The greatest and the last was the Kingdom of Songhay which endured from A.D. 700 until the date of the Moorish Conquest in 1591 and which extended from the western frontier of Bornu in Northern Nigeria to Senegal, a distance of over 1500 miles, while in the north it adjoined the frontier of the Moorish Empire in North Africa and Spain. The name is preserved in Senegal and the Joloff and other tribes in the Gambia and in Senegal are of Songhay origin. Between the Songhay Kingdom

and the Kong Mountains lay the pagan state of Mossi, often a thorn in the side of its more powerful neighbour. Moshi is the name of the language most commonly spoken to-day in the northern territories of the Gold Coast. East of the Songhay Kingdom lay the Kingdom of Bornu, the people of which were of Berber origin from North Africa and were never conquered by the Songhay, or at a later date by the Fulani. For centuries they remained pagan and resisted the conversion to Mohammedanism that their western neighbours gradually underwent. The people of the Hausa states, on the other hand, were conquered at various times and early converted to Mohammedanism, but though conquered they preserved their political individuality and characteristics. The traditions of Hausaland are different from those of Bornu and associate them with Upper Egypt, their language being grouped with Coptic. From Senegal in the west to Hausaland in the east were the scattered settlements of the Fulani, a people destined to rise into prominence in the nineteenth century and found the last of the great native states that were established in the Western Sudan.

The extension of the Mohammedan faith throughout the Sudan had a great effect, both immediate and remote, throughout the whole of West Africa. While it did not entirely supersede the old pagan creeds even amongst the tribes which adopted Mohammedanism, it destroyed the most savage features of the older faiths and for centuries it linked up the Sudan with the civilisation of Southern Europe. There was constant intercourse, both commercial and intellectual, between the Sudan and the great Moorish Empire of North Africa and Spain and through that with the rest of Europe. At the beginning of the sixteenth century that ceased. In 1502 the Moors were driven out of Spain, intercourse between the

Christian nations north of the Mediterranean and the Mohammedan nations south ceased, with injury to both but especially to the latter. At the end of the same century the Moorish invasion of the Sudan destroyed the Songhay Empire, replaced it by warring tribes, and put an end to the advance in civilisation. The next advance in the civilisation of West Africa was to come from the south.

While the Mohammedan historians who relate the history of the Sudan from the eighth to the sixteenth centuries have given a vivid picture of the peoples of the time, and supplied us with much valuable information respecting their descendants of to-day, they say little of the people living to the south, between the Sudan and the sea. They are called the "lem lem," or "dem dem," or "rem rem," and are contemptuously referred to as "the idolaters who eat men." Between these pagan tribes, in the south and the Sudanese peoples there must, however, have been fairly regular trade relations. The caravan routes from the Sudan to North Africa and Egypt had existed for centuries: gold, ivory and negro slaves were carried over these routes to Europe and Asia, and these must have been brought from "the countries of the lem lem," the coast belt of West Africa in contradistinction to the Sudan.

The re-discovery of the sea route to West Africa coincides very closely with the cutting off of commercial intercourse between Europe and North Africa. As has been stated above, the Moors were finally driven out of Spain in 1502. In 1446 Portuguese vessels sent out by Prince Henry the Navigator, reached Senegal, and brought back gold which up to that time had only reached Europe by the overland route across the Sahara. By 1471 the Portuguese had visited the whole coast of West Africa as far south as the present French Congo, and in 1482 they established

their first settlement on the Gold Coast, Sao Jorge da Mina, now known as Elmina, and not long after that they became acquainted with the native gold workings at Abosso. They sent several expeditions into the interior in the attempt to reach Timbuctoo, famous for its wealth and learning. The Portuguese founded numerous trading establishments along the coast and up the rivers, and may have attempted to colonise parts of West Africa as they did in East Africa and in India. They were not merely traders, however, but exercised an enduring influence on West Africa second only to that of the Egyptians, Berbers and Arabs, who had given their civilisation to the peoples of the Sudan. Of the Portuguese, Sir Harry Johnston writes, "These wonderful old conquistadores may have been relentless or cruel in imposing their rule on the African and in enslaving him or in Christianising him, but they added enormously to his food supply and his comfort. So early in the history of their African exploration that it is almost the first step they took, they brought from China, India, and Malacca the orange tree, the lemon, and the lime, which, besides introducing into Europe (and Europe had hitherto only known the sour, wild orange brought by the Arab), they planted in every part of East and West Africa where they touched. They likewise brought the sugar cane from the East Indies. . . . From their great possession of Brazil—overrun and organised with astounding rapidity—they brought to East and West Africa the Muscovy Duck (which has penetrated far into the interior of Africa, if indeed it has not crossed the continent), Chili peppers, maize, (now grown all over Africa), tobacco, the tomato, yam, pineapple, sweet potato (a convolvulus tuber), manioc (from which tapioca is made), ginger, and other less well known forms of vegetable food. The Portuguese also introduced the domestic pig into

Africa, and on the West Coast the domestic cat, possibly also certain breeds of dogs." . . . "Take away from the African's dietary of to-day a few of the products that the Portuguese brought him from the Far East and Far West and he will remain very unsufficiently provided with necessities and simple luxuries."<sup>1</sup>

The Portuguese, in addition, attempted to Christianise West Africa ; natives were taken from Senegal and the Congo to Europe, were educated and baptised, and then sent back to Africa to Christianise their peoples. This had a short-lived success. It is common to ascribe its failure to the difficulties arising from polygamy, but probably a more formidable obstacle to the adoption of the Christian religion by the coast peoples was the great extension of the slave trade in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and the consequent altered outlook of European nations towards the negro. In their exploitation of West African trade the Portuguese were rapidly followed by French, English, Danish and Dutch merchants, attracted at first by the gold and ivory and other products of the coast, and then by the slave trade, which became more profitable than any other. From these merchant adventurers something is learnt of the nature of the coast tribes, but they have very little favourable to say. Barbot, a French merchant, who traded in West Africa for twenty years at the end of the seventeenth century, and was himself a slave-dealer, gives the fullest descriptions. He characterises the people of the Gambia as "very savage, cruel, and treacherous . . . gross pagans said to worship devils more than any other blacks." He refers to a cannibal people at the back of the Gambia as having been driven south in the sixteenth century and as waging war on the older inhabitants. He speaks of

<sup>1</sup> *Colonisation of Africa*, pp. 38-40.

the people of the Gold Coast as the most civilised of the peoples he met with, but he adds that few or none were to be trusted and that they were "of a turbulent temper, very deceitful and crafty, and so continually at war with one another that this was the best place of all the coast for slaves as well as gold." He himself traded at New Calabar and describes the natives inland from New Calabar and the Cross River as cannibals. The people of Benin he describes as the most genteel and polite on the coast, but he refers to the great human sacrifices made on ceremonial occasions.

The descriptions given by Barbot and others are sufficient to show that the tribes on the coast were on an altogether lower plane of civilisation than those living in the interior and were less removed from the primitive negro races. At the same time these descriptions cannot be accepted unreservedly, for the European slave-dealers were not the people best qualified to judge of the higher characteristics of the slaves they bought and whom they regarded as chattels little removed from the brute; and it is known that these "savage, cruel, and treacherous cannibals" developed, when kindly treated, an affection for, and devotion to, their masters in the West Indies and in America.

The early Portuguese navigators came for slaves as well as gold, but, as Sir Harry Johnston states, their influence was, on the whole, beneficial. The colonisation of the Americas and West Indies, and the demand for labour which could not be got locally, changed the situation during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries when the slave trade was at its height, and during this period the influence of European nations on the West African peoples was more harmful than beneficial. The slave dealers were confined to their ships or to fortified settlements on the coast itself. It might suit them to give armed

assistance to one chief to enable him to make war on his neighbours in view of the slaves they would get from the conquered tribes, but they did not penetrate into the interior and attempt to develop the country. The demand for slaves fomented inter-tribal fights not only on the coast itself but well into the interior and was a material cause of the disintegration and degradation of the people and of the depopulation of large areas. Inter-tribal wars had, of course, existed for centuries in Africa, and the captives were either killed (and sometimes eaten) or enslaved ; but the effects were not so far-reaching nor so injurious as the slave trade carried on by the European nations on the coast and the Arab slave-raiders in the interior. If Barth's estimate be reliable, a thickly populated zone corresponding roughly to the present northern provinces of Nigeria was reduced by slave-raiding from fifty millions to ten millions of people. At the end of the eighteenth and in the earlier years of the nineteenth, the overseas slave trade was stopped, and, in this, Great Britain, whose merchants had taken as prominent a part as any others in the slave trade, took the chief part ; the slave trade in the interior was, however, not finally stopped until the extension of English, French and German administrative zones over the whole of West Africa in the latter part of the nineteenth century. One interesting result of the suppression of the slave trade has been the creation of a special community of Africans who, under British rule, have played a by no means insignificant part in the administrative, commercial and educational development of British West Africa. At the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century, Great Britain acquired from the Temne people the peninsula of Sierra Leone to provide an asylum for North American negroes who had been loyal during the American War of Independence, and at a later

date for Nova Scotian negroes (the Maroons, as they are still termed), and negroes from the West Indies. These were the first settlers, and though many died there are still families that trace their descent to them. By far the greater part of the settlers, however, were the Africans rescued by British men of war from slave ships conveying them from all parts of Africa to the West Indies and South America. These liberated Africans exhibited an extraordinary diversity of races. Koelle, a missionary under the Church Missionary Society, about the middle of the nineteenth century compiled a vocabulary of over two hundred native languages spoken by them. There were representatives of most of the West Coast races and of South West Africa as far as Benguela. The Upper Niger races and the races as far north as Lake Chad were represented. There were even natives belonging to Nyasaland and South East Africa, and Wadai. Differing widely racially from a well-organised race such as the Yoruba to the pagan cannibals of the Niger delta, they differed equally widely socially, and ranged from those who had been slaves and the children of slaves in their own country to chiefs and their families who had been defeated in war and sent to the coast to be sold as slaves. The problem of their disposal was no easy one. As each ship arrived, its human cargo was landed at the King's Yard for liberated Africans, where the Colonial Hospital now stands, and in turn the natives were settled on the land near Freetown and in the valleys of the peninsula under the charge of European managers of settlements. They were fed and clothed and given seed to cultivate the ground. European missionaries came out, missions and schools were set up in which they were taught the English language and brought up in the Christian religion. From the outset they were exposed to exclusively English influences. They were cut off

from the races in the interior of Sierra Leone, the Temne and Mendi and others, by language and traditions and by the fact that the latter had no hesitation in seizing and selling into captivity those liberated Africans when he got the opportunity. The distrust thus caused has not entirely disappeared to-day and many of these liberated Africans retain the memory of the homes to which they or their parents originally belonged, and feel more kinship with the Gold Coast or Yoruba natives than with the natives of the Sierra Leone hinterland.

From the circumstances attending the settlement, an earlier start in systematic education was made in the colony of Sierra Leone than elsewhere on the West Coast and the native of the colony spread not merely through British possessions but also through French, as clerk, dispenser, missionary, petty trader, or artisan. He filled the place in the early development of West African administration and trade *that was filled by the Asiatic in East Africa*, and though the other West African colonies have now each got their own educational system, the English-speaking native of the colony of Sierra Leone is still to be found filling responsible and honourable positions in the Gold Coast, Nigeria, and elsewhere. The educated Fanti or Yoruba, however, looks to his own hinterland, where the tribe to which he belongs lives ; he has his share in the family land and observes the family customs. The descendants of the liberated Africans settled in Sierra Leone are still aliens to the races in the hinterland, and it is one of the problems of the future which they must settle for themselves whether they are to become absorbed by the hinterland tribes now entering into the peninsula in increasing numbers, or whether they are to be the compelling force bringing these races to a higher stage in civilisation than they now possess.

The development of the civilised native of the colony of Sierra Leone from the heterogeneous mass of representations of over two hundred negro and negroid tribes ranging from primitive savagery to a certain degree of culture has, however, more than a local interest; it illustrates the potentiality of the African under favourable surroundings. Of the pure negro many hard things have been written. Meredith Towns-end says, "They have never shown within the historic period the capacity to develop civilisation. They have never passed the boundaries of their own habitats as conquerors and never exercised the smallest influence over peoples not black. They have never founded a stone city, have never built a ship, have never produced a literature, have never suggested a creed. The negro learned the use of fire, the fact that some grains will grow, the value of shelter, the use of the bow, the canoe, and the good of clothes, but there to all appearances he stopped, unable until stimulated by another race, to advance another step." Sir Harry Johnston writes of him, "Until the Caucasian in one shape or another touched the negro the latter was leading a life of utter savagery little superior to that of a beast and must have been relatively ill supplied with food. . . . They lived on such creatures as they could catch in snares or pitfalls or kill with sharpened arrows (dipped, it may be, in vegetable poisons) by the hunting with clubs, boomerangs, or stones, or possibly setting fire to the bush. They had absolutely no cultivated plants of their own. They relied simply on the wild tubers, gourds, roots, fruits, and fungi on tender leaves, the grains of a few wild grasses, and a good deal also on caterpillars, beetles, grubs, and white ants (termites). They fish with their hands or in weirs and dams which they made across streams. . . . To them the white man in the shape of the Egyptian, Arab, Carthaginian,

Greek, Roman, Portuguese, Hollander, Frenchman, and Englishman brought all the domestic animals and cultivated plants without which the African would now find it impossible to exist even in the still savage regions of the continent. The whole of these food products (with the exception perhaps of the *Colocasia Yam*) were indigenous to Europe, Asia and America. . . .”

“ The negro and the black Australian escaped the struggle with the ice, with the result, however, that for the last ten thousand years, let us say, they have been worried, persecuted, disciplined, taught and saved by the invading races from the Northern Hemisphere.”

Be this as it may, the negro has shown that he possesses two important characteristics which differentiate him from other primitive races of the globe. The North American Indians, the Aborigines of Australia, even the Maori of New Zealand wilted and decayed when brought into contact with European civilisation and are now represented by mere fractions of once powerful peoples. The negro has survived; individual tribes have disappeared, others may disappear in the future, but the negro and negroid races as a whole will increase and must form the most important factors in the future development of West Africa. Other races—the Berber, the Arab, the Egyptian—have played their part, but in the course of centuries they have become absorbed by the negro races. As the result there are to-day many tribes largely though not entirely negro in origin, whose lowest stage of culture is higher than that of the primitive negro, though the highest has not as yet reached that of the peoples to whom they owe their advance.

Physically the people of West Africa lie between two extremes; the typical forest negro, short, thick-set, physically very powerful, with longish arms, very

dark in colour, with a prognathous jaw, everted thick lips, a broad, flat, bridgeless nose and overhanging forehead, woolly hair growing in patches on the head and little hair on the face ; and the tall, slim, and wiry native, light in colour, with thin lips, straight, thin, well-bridged nose, and straight hair on the head and face. Between these two every form of hybridisation may be found in different tribes living, it may be, in close proximity to one another.

For this heterogeneity the ferment of peoples in the Sudan, especially after the Mohammedan Conquest, is responsible. The pagan tribes were either conquered and enslaved, blending in turn with their conquerors, or else driven into inaccessible and hilly country such as Banchi in Northern Nigeria, or into the equally inaccessible forest and swamp belt that form so marked a feature of West Africa south of the ninth parallel of north latitude.

The four British West African colonies are widely separated from each other by the intervening French possessions and form only a small part of the total area of West Africa, and the native races in the British colonies are, as one would expect, closely akin to the races in the adjoining French possessions. They are divided into a large number of tribes (in the Northern provinces of Nigeria alone there are said to be over three hundred and eighty tribes), each tribe having its own peculiar characteristics as to language, constitution, beliefs, and customs. There are on the one hand as great divergences between different racial types as exist in Europe or Asia ; on the other, tribes widely separated from each other may exhibit a great similarity in their beliefs, customs and organisation.

Sir Frederick Lugard classifies the peoples of tropical Africa from the point of view of the administrator into three groups according to their several

organisations, viz. : the primitive tribes, the advanced communities, and the Europeanised Africans.<sup>1</sup>

The native races have also been classified according to their religious beliefs into the primitive pagan tribes, the tribes which have adopted the higher paganism, and the tribes which have become Mohammedanised. Classifications are convenient but must not be allowed to obscure the fact that no hard and fast lines can be drawn between groups ; there is a continuous gradation from the most primitive to the most advanced tribes, and a tribe relatively high as regards its political and social organisation may have customs obviously derived from a more primitive period in its history. As a general rule, however, the more highly developed a people is politically, the more humane its customs become ; cannibalism, widespread amongst the most primitive, disappears as we reach others better organised, life is safer, and redress for injuries more easily got, and private vengeance and rude matrimonial and other customs cease to exist. It will be more convenient, therefore, to describe briefly the constitutions of the different groups into which the tribes can be divided, and thereafter to refer to some of the most interesting beliefs and customs widespread amongst the most primitive, materially modified or altogether absent amongst the most advanced.

The most primitive tribes now existing in the British West African colonies are some of the pagan tribes of the northern provinces of Nigeria and the tribes inhabiting the forest and swamp country between the Niger and Cross River in the southern provinces. The former comprise a large number of tribes and fragments of tribes, some numbering a few hundreds only, others numbering a hundred thousand and more, such as the Gwari in the Niger

<sup>1</sup> *Dual Mandate*, p. 72.

and Nessarawa provinces. Amongst the latter are the Ibo, Ibibio, and other races of the Niger Delta and the Cross River. The Ibo-speaking peoples alone are estimated to number about four millions and are probably by no means a homogeneous tribe but a concourse of tribes speaking different dialects of the same language. This group would also include the Jola tribe of the Gambia. Some of these tribes, especially in the northern provinces of Nigeria, have traditions associating them with kindred tribes in other parts from whom they have been separated during one or other of the waves of conquest that overran the country ; others are indigenous, but this term simply means that they have lost all traditions associating them with other countries, and have lived in the areas they now occupy for centuries. The Ibibio, for instance, are believed by Sir Harry Johnston to have lived in Southern Nigeria for fifteen hundred years.

Many of these tribes are still largely unclothed, men and women wearing nothing but a strip of bark cloth or a bunch of leaves in front and behind attached to a loin string. Even amongst the Ibo, who have had access to coast trade for many years, it is not uncommon to see grown men and women with no clothing at all. The weapon in the most remote parts is the poisoned arrow.

The position of the chief has hardly been developed amongst the most primitive. He is merely the head of the family living in a village and admitting no allegiance to any other person ; in other instances he is the senior of the elders of the town, and possesses no real authority save what is inspired by his force of character or respect for his age. On the Cross River there are tribes in which the younger men state that they do not obey the chief unless he is right. He may be priest or head juju man, as well as chief ;

he may be the leader of the town in their faction fights, or after his appointment be confined not only to the town but to his own compound in it. He may be elected from any of the families in the town or the office may be hereditary in a particular family. There may be no special ceremonial attending the election and installation of a chief, or, in other instances, there may be an elaborate ritual resembling that seen amongst more highly developed tribes. Amongst the Ibo each town has its own chief, and a large town may be divided into compounds, the head of each claiming independence of the others in its own internal affairs, though the compounds may unite to repel external aggression. The one fundamental factor persisting throughout all the varieties is that the chief or head-man has no authority outside his town and the farm-land adjoining it. In tribes exhibiting such primitive organisation feuds between towns are common and few men will travel alone and unarmed any distance from the town to which they belong. Towns are generally walled or stockaded, may be hidden in dense forest and entered by narrow and tortuous paths to prevent surprise attacks by enemies, and until recently when the inhabitants went out to cultivate their farms they went armed and posted sentries to warn them in case of attack.

With an elementary political organisation there is an equally elementary method of settling disputes. When the parties to the dispute belong to the same town, the facts are generally well known to the elders and a decision is comparatively easy; when the facts are more obscure both parties may be required to take an oath on some fetish respected by all and the decision left to the fetish, or trial by ordeal may be invoked—the litigants required to drink sasswood or take the esere bean. In a more advanced stage, when witnesses were called, the witnesses took an

oath and then merely stated which litigant was, in their opinion, in the right—the one having the majority of witnesses got judgment. The elementary method of settling disputes did not make for justice when a stranger to the community was involved, and disputes between natives of different towns generally involved the two towns in a faction fight.

In the next stage of political development there are chiefs exercising territorial jurisdiction over a group of towns, either over the whole tribe or over a definite section of it. As in the first group, there are wide differences in constitution between the different limits. In the most primitive form each town retains its autonomy in internal affairs, selects or elects its own head-man. The interference of the chief in internal matters would be resented: he is merely the head in matters of common interest and thus represents life in relation to other chiefdoms. In the more advanced, the units composing the chiefdom are grouped into a coherent whole and the authority of the chief is recognised throughout in the settlement of internal dissensions in a town as well as in the settlement of disputes between different towns. In the most developed forms chiefs often co-operate in settling matters of common importance to their chiefdoms, or outside chiefs may intervene to prevent dissensions between two chiefs, and the chief has his council and is not merely a despotic ruler.

In this group native customary law becomes more stable, the right of private vengeance or of resort to arms in the settlement of disputes between towns is replaced by the judgment of the chiefs' courts, and the procedure of the native courts is less primitive.

A large number of tribal units in all the colonies are included in this group. It would be impracticable to enumerate them all, differing widely as they do:

they are best illustrated by selecting the tribal systems of several distinctive units.

The Munshi, in the south-eastern part of the northern provinces of Nigeria form a fairly large tribe, numbering about 350,000. They are possibly Bantu in origin and while their legends trace their descent to a common ancestor they are now divided into clans, each under its own chief. The individual towns or sections composing the clan are very largely autonomous and are jealous of their independence.

The Dagomba, Mamprussi, and other races, numbering in all over 500,000, and inhabiting the northern territories of the Gold Coast, belong also to the less advanced units of this group. The people themselves are probably descendants of the inhabitants of the pagan Kingdom of Mossi and the languages spoken in common with adjoining French tribes are dialects of Moshi. According to Cardinal, the chiefs are not of the blood of the people of the land and probably represent a small conquering race at a lower stage of civilisation, and this is borne out by the legends about the founding of Salaga and other important towns, legends which link up the chiefs with Mohammedan invaders from the northern provinces of Nigeria. The people, however, are only partly Mohammedanised and many pagan customs still survive. They were conquered at one time by, and paid tribute to the Ashanti rulers, and it is only since they were released from Ashanti rule that they are being welded again into organised chiefdoms. The fact that the Chiefs of the Dagomba and Mamprussi have to make offerings to the spirits of the soil which are different from the spirits they worship indicates their different origin from the original inhabitants of the land itself.

The Mendi people in Sierra Leone represent another stage in the development of this group. Their language belongs to the Mandingo group of languages,

but, whereas the Mandingo are Mohammedan, the Mendi are pagan and belong to a more primitive race than the Mandingo, more negro than negroid. They probably entered Sierra Leone from the east as a conquering race within the last two centuries, driving a wedge between the Konno and Vai peoples in the east and the Temne and Sherbro in the centre. They are now divided into a number of chiefdoms, each under a chief whose authority is recognised in all the towns in his chiefdom, while chiefdoms, especially under the influence of the "porro," may combine for matters of common interest. Apart from the "porro," the chiefs have not yet got regularly constituted councils of advisers and the rules of succession are not yet definite; in some cases there is a ruling family and hereditary succession in the male line but in others there is no ruling family, and in a few instances there appears to be a survival of succession in the female line and women may be appointed chiefs. This they may have acquired from the Sherbro race, a race much longer in Sierra Leone than the Mendi. The Mendi are a virile people and their language and customs are spreading at the expense of the Sherbro, Vai, Konno, and other tribes adjoining them.

The Temne people in Sierra Leone, numbering between 400,000 and 500,000, exhibit a still higher stage in political evolution and their constitution and customs indicate their origin from a tribe more highly organised and at a higher stage of civilisation than they themselves at present are. They have been settled in Sierra Leone for over five hundred years but have still vague traditions of having come from the north-east. Their language is semi-Bantu and with the exception of the Landoma in Senegambia they are the only tribe possessing a language resembling the Bantu found west of the Cross River or of the eastern provinces of Nigeria. They have a well-defined

political and social organisation and a recognised though complicated system of selection of chiefs. The tribe is divided into a number of chiefdoms in most, if not all, of which there are two royal houses. These are not offshoots of the same family as the two houses belong to different septs and have different totems. In one chiefdom, for instance, the chiefs are chosen from the two septs of Bangurra and Camarra, a Saisay or a Conteh could never be chosen. Inside the sept there may be one royal house or more, commonly two or more, probably offshoots of the one. In each chiefdom there are councillors who limit the arbitrary exercise of his powers by the chief. There is an elaborate ritual attending the selection and the coronation of the chief, and a specific officer who acts as regent between the death of a chief and the coronation of his successor. When a chief is appointed he ceases to hold his former name and is known by his title. A certain sacredness surrounds the chief after his coronation, he may not be referred to by his former name, blood may not be shed in his presence, and by strict custom deposition is not recognised; a chief is appointed for life, and his skull, with those of previous chiefs, is essential in the ceremonial ritual attending the coronation of his successor. Native customary law is more humane and better developed than amongst the other races mentioned, and while the chief is the interpreter of it he is obliged to consult his councillors. Mohammedan influence has spread widely, but the Temne tribe was originally a pagan tribe and the fundamental parts of their constitution are of pagan origin.

The Ashanti Fanti and Ga peoples of the Gold Coast and the Yoruba peoples of Nigeria illustrate other phases of the development of political institutions amongst West African tribes. Ellis groups them together as well as the Ewe-speaking peoples of

the eastern part of the Gold Coast and of Togoland, as in his view they have a common origin ; but in many respects they are now widely separated in customs and constitution. Of these tribes the Yoruba are the most highly developed. They form now a group of tribes numbering over three millions in the western part of the southern provinces of Nigeria (and also in the northern provinces), and lie between the once powerful chiefdoms of Benin on the east and Dahomey on the west. Ilorin was once part of Yoruba land but was conquered by the Fulani in the nineteenth century. Yoruba legends ascribe their origin to Lamurudu, a King of Mecca, after the time of Mohamed. Sultan Bello, the Fulani ruler of Sokoto, who compiled a history based largely on Hausa records which he afterwards destroyed states that they were descendants of the Canaanites. Whatever their origin, they owe their culture and religious beliefs, which are in essence pre-Mohammedan, to eastern sources, Egyptian or Arabian. They are probably related to some of the Hausa-speaking tribes in the northern provinces, as they have the same system of tribal marks. According to their traditions, Ile Ife is the ancestral home of the Yoruba in their present land. The Ga people of the Gold Coast also state that their ancestors came from Ile Ife, which links them with the Yoruba. At one time, too, chiefs from Ife ruled in Benin. In the past the Yoruba were united under a king, the Alafin of Oyo, and he is still regarded as the senior ruler of all the Yoruba, and the heads of other Yoruba tribes trace their descent to the family of a former Alafin. In Oyo there is a royal house but no hereditary succession, a new Alafin being selected by the council from the suitable members of the royal house. Life was uncertain amongst Yoruba rulers, and a number committed suicide, this being an honourable form of death. When an Alafin or another chief

had, in the opinion of his people, ruled long enough, he was given a symbolic gift as a hint that he should die ; in one case this took the form of a calabash large enough to hold a man's head, in another a gift of parrot's eggs was made. On the appointment of an Alafin he had to appoint an Aremo (or Crown Prince, as the term is translated) who might be his eldest son. The Aremo had an important part in administration, but any tendency to intrigue was restrained by a native custom which was not abolished until 1858, requiring the Aremo to commit suicide on the death of the Alafin. There was a well-organised system of functionaries, each with his title and specific duties, and these functionaries were all the more important in administration as, except on certain specified ceremonial occasions, the Alafin was not supposed to leave the palace. The ceremonial of the court was much more elaborate than amongst any of the tribes hitherto considered. The government was not entirely oligarchic, as when affairs of consequence to the whole chiefdom had to be discussed all the people might be summoned to council, and any one, no matter how obscure he might be, was entitled to express his opinion. The "Ogboni," one of the secret societies so common in West Africa, had an important place in administration, but its power and position probably varied in different sections of the Yoruba peoples. The Yoruba are now divided into different tribes, one of which, the Egba, has developed a peculiar constitution. There are four chiefs corresponding to the four sections, Abeokuta town and the Alake ; the senior chief is merely *primus inter pares*. Owing to the attacks of the Dahomeyans and others, the Egba were driven in on their capital, Abeokuta, and each chief had his own section. When peace was restored and they were able to build villages in Egbaland, the various clans did not remain distinct, in many villages

there are representatives of two or more clans, and each clan carries its disputes to its own head. The chiefs do not exercise territorial jurisdiction but clan jurisdiction. Perhaps owing to this and its limitations on the powers of the chiefs, the Ogboni Society plays a very important part in the administration of Egbaland. Both Mohammedanism and Christianity have now spread amongst the Yoruba people, but their constitution and religion are in essence pagan, their religious beliefs being much higher, however, than the primitive paganism of the Ibo and other races in the southern provinces of Nigeria.

The Fanti and Ashanti belong to the Twi-speaking peoples and at one time formed one race inhabiting the northern territories of the Gold Coast. Pressure from the north drove them into the primeval forest covering the centre of the Gold Coast: the Ashanti remained in the northern part of the forest, the Fanti passed on into the southern part and reached the coast. The Fanti separated into a number of tribes with no common bond of union, were frequently at war with each other as well as with the adjoining tribes, and their disintegration was probably helped on by the slave trade. Among the Fanti each chief has his oman or council, and the council limits his powers. While a chief must belong to a certain family, there is no sacredness about the person of the chief such as exists amongst the Temne; if the people are not satisfied the chief may be deposed by the oman. The Fanti, as also the Ashanti, have retained the old custom of succession through the female line. A chief's son may not succeed his father, the son of the chief's sister by the same mother may.

While the Fanti split up into independent tribes, the Ashanti remained a confederation. The chiefs were largely independent of, and were sometimes at war with each other, but they were united under a

king at Coomassie, and had a common bond of union in the golden stool. This was not as was at one time supposed the stool on which the king sat, it was the stool on the existence of which depended the soul of the Ashanti people. It had its own guardians and was brought in state to all important conferences. At the conference the king made three attempts to sit on it but on each occasion he was repulsed. The demand for this stool to be surrendered was one of the causes of the Ashanti rebellion in 1900 and after twenty years of peaceful development the discovery that it had been desecrated roused the whole Ashanti people in 1921, and might have led to another rebellion had it not been evident that the British Government had had no part in the desecration, but that the Ashanti guardians had betrayed their trust.

Amongst both Ashanti and Fanti the administration of justice is still in an elementary stage, chiefs and their advisers sit to adjudicate on cases and the fees and fines of court form an appreciable portion of their revenue.

The foregoing serve to illustrate some of the forms the development of the various tribes took. There are others, the Mandingo Chiefdoms in the Gambia and Sierra Leone, with constitutions resembling that of the Temne but more advanced, and the Bini people of Southern Nigeria united under an Oba or king, whose savage human sacrifices, like those of the Ashanti, necessitated armed intervention in the later part of the nineteenth century.

The next and most advanced group contains the kingdoms which are found only in the northern provinces of Nigeria. One of the most interesting is that of the present emirate of Bornu, whose ruler is termed the Shehu, and of this the most important tribe is the Kanuri, with the kindred tribe the Kanembu, numbering some four hundred and fifty

thousand people. Kanuri traditions ascribe their origin to one Sef who came to Bornu from North Africa about the fourth century, A.D., and there is a list of legendary kings who ruled Bornu between the fourth and the eleventh centuries. From the eleventh century onwards there is a complete and more reliable list of the rulers of Bornu. Up to the end of the twelfth century, Berber blood prevailed in the ruling dynasty and the rulers were white. The Kingdom of Bornu varied in size, at its greatest extent it extended to Fezzan on the north and to the Nile on the east. It was never conquered by the Songhay Empire, and the later Fulani Empire only succeeded in conquering the western part. The Kanuri horsemen who escort the Shehu on state occasions still wear coats of mail dating back to the crusades of the Middle Ages. Bornu has had a well-organised system of government for centuries and it is of interest to note that income-tax and death duties formed part of its system of taxation. In the chiefdoms hitherto considered, taxation was not organised, and chiefs, in addition to their own resources, depended either on presents made by their subjects at irregular intervals or on tribute levied at the caprice of the ruler.

West of the Kingdom of Bornu lie the Hausa States which formed part of the Songhay Empire at one time and at a later date of the Fulani Empire, and which apparently did not suffer the same disintegration that befel the rest of the Songhay Empire after the Moorish Conquest in 1591. There is a Hausa language with many dialects but no one Hausa tribe. The term Hausa is applied to a number of tribes, negroid and not negro in character with many physical and mental characteristics in common, probably originating like the Yoruba from Upper Egypt or Arabia. They have been Mohammedan for centuries and their original pagan beliefs have either been abandoned or so modified

as to be unrecognisable. They are a highly intelligent people, forming well-organised communities, and when conquered by the Fulani in the nineteenth century the latter were content to continue the forms of Hausa administration. The Fulani, however, destroyed the Hausa records and their history is, in consequence, obscure. They are good farmers and keen traders, and Hausa settlements are not only found throughout Northern and Southern Nigeria, but in the Gold Coast and as far west as Senegambia and in the Eastern Sudan.

The last of the empires to be founded in the Western Sudan was that of the Fulah or Fulani people. The origin of this mysterious people is still unknown. Some contend that they have come from Egypt and are descendants of the race of Shepherd Kings (but their language is not semitic) : others that they are of Berber origin. In Senegal and French Guinea they have been settled for centuries and since the sixteenth century they have migrated eastward to Sierra Leone, Gold Coast and Nigeria wherever they can keep their cattle. There are two branches, the cow Fulani and the town Fulani. The former have mixed less with the negro races and some of them are light coloured, straight nosed, straight haired, thin-lipped people, entirely different to the races amongst whom they live. Some settlements of the cow Fulani are still pagan, but the majority have adopted the Mohammedan religion. The town Fulani founded the Kingdom of Futa Jallon in French Guinea, north of Sierra Leone, and it was from Futa Toro in this kingdom that the ruling house of Sokoto in Nigeria came. In the nineteenth century they started eastward on their conquest and overran Northern Nigeria as far as the Kingdom of Bornu in the east, while in the south they wrested Ilorin from the Yoruba. They were content to adopt the administrative systems of

the peoples they conquered so long as tribute was paid, but their empire showed early signs of weakness, emirate after emirate emancipated itself from the control of the Sarikin Musumin of Sokoto, most remaining under Fulani rulers, however, and at the time of the British occupation of Northern Nigeria in 1900 the various emirates were independent of Sokoto. There are at present estimated to be from a million to a million and a half of the town Fulani (*fulanen gidda*) in the northern provinces of Nigeria, and about three hundred thousand cow Fulani. The Fulani are a more reserved people than any of the negro or negroid tribes, avoiding manifestations of feeling such as smiling or laughing or showing great interest or sorrow or joy. The cow Fulani have a most remarkable knowledge of cattle and can call the animals by name.

The diversity of tribes found in British West Africa is accompanied by as great a diversity in character, customs, and beliefs. Some are cheerful, others morose, some courageous, others cowardly, some trustworthy and truthful, others treacherous and deceitful, some honest, others the reverse, some with a high standard of sexual morality, others depraved, some cleanly in their habits, others degraded and dirty. Amongst the most primitive are to be found cannibalism, murder of twins, human sacrifice, the right of private vengeance marriage by capture or exchange, ancestor worship, and primitive animistic beliefs. In higher forms cannibalism, twin murder, the right of private vengeance, and primitive form of marriage disappear, and other beliefs become less brutal. Amongst the Yoruba, for instance, while human sacrifice existed until recent years, it was not the orgy of blood that it was amongst more primitive races. A slave who was to be offered as a sacrifice was treated with honour, as it was believed that his spirit would return as a

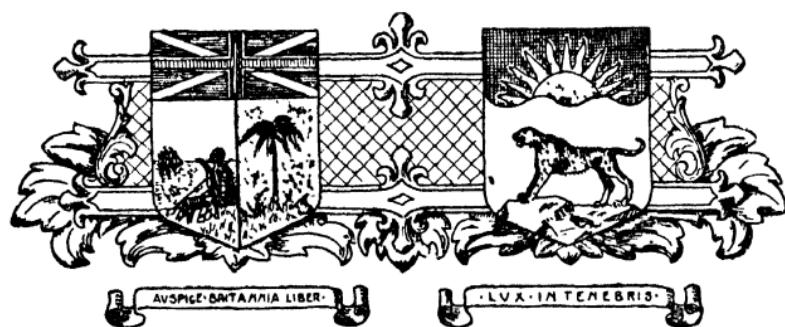
king. Primitive animism, according to which every tree and rock had its own spirit, was replaced by a belief in a hierarchy of deities with one supreme spirit : of the belief in a supreme spirit some of the primitive pagan races show no trace. Belief in reincarnation is held even by the most primitive, but it is vague and undefined : the higher pagan races have raised it into a philosophical creed.

Mohammedanism brought with it a monotheistic religion and an alien culture. It showed a wide tolerance for pagan beliefs, assimilating them when possible and stripping them of their more brutalising and degrading elements. It has certainly raised the general standard of life and decency, has made for social and political improvement, and has introduced a better code of justice. While some of the negro races have been singularly resistant to it, Mohammedanism—including in that term not merely the religion but the social organisation based on the Koran—has still a great part to play in the future development of many of the tribes in West Africa.

The permanent effect of modern European civilisation on the development of West African races cannot yet be determined, nor is this the place to compare and to discuss the differences in method adopted by the two great European nations who are at present the guardians of the interests of West Africa. So far as Great Britain is concerned, in addition to stopping the slave trade and inter-tribal wars in the territories she administers, she has restricted the liquor traffic, partly by forming zones into which spirits may not be imported, partly by prohibiting the introduction of cheap and injurious spirits, and in most colonies has placed restrictions on the transfer of land to persons who are not native. Native forms of administration have also been preserved and allowed to function. The peaceful development of the various tribes is

now possible, and there is greater inter-communication than in the past. During that development some tribes will probably disappear entirely, and others will become absorbed by more powerful neighbours.

For the future, as important as British administration and commercial development are the influence on the African of the Christian religion and the use made by him of English educational methods and ideals. The value of the former is not to be judged merely by the number of converts made, but by the setting up of a higher ethical standard for the race. Education in the past has produced some who have shown themselves possessed of high ideals, force of character and organising ability ; it has also produced the Europeanised African, who has gained his education but has frequently lost touch with his own people. Used rightly, it may in the future be the most powerful means of raising the standards not merely of individual Africans, but of the many composite racial units inhabiting British West Africa and of developing amongst them a true and healthy national sense.



Arms of

Sierra Leone.

Nyasaland.

## NORTH AMERICA



## CHAPTER VI

### THE INDIANS OF CANADA

BY

WILLIAM C. NOXON,  
*Agent-General for Ontario.*

FEW types of mankind make a stronger appeal to the imagination of civilised people than the Red Indian. For centuries he has been presented in literature as a romantic figure, clad in buckskins and beadwork. His picturesque head-dress of feathers is as familiar in art as the royal crowns of more conventional races, his cunning in woodcraft, his endurance in the chase, and his ferocity in war, have made him a hero in countless stories of adventure so dear to the hearts of boys; while even on the modern cinematograph screen his feats of horsemanship, his astonishing skill in handling the canoe of his forefathers, and his free, open life on the plains and in the forests, combine to maintain his traditional reputation as a human type that forms a romantic link with the days when there were neither cities nor white men on the western continent, and when the buffalo roamed the plains that are now one of the granaries of the world.

It would be foolish to pretend that all the popular ideas concerning the American Indians will bear a close scrutiny. The Indian in real life was, and is, quite a different being to the Indian of fiction. However, it is well that our instinctive Anglo-Saxon sympathy for a conquered race should cause us to

look with a lenient eye on the faults of the Indian, and give him full credit for his good qualities.

When Columbus first set eyes on the American continent in the fifteenth century, he found the country inhabited by a race quite different in colour, appearance, and habits to the people of Europe. His sailors, who thought they had reached the Indies, called the natives Indians. The missionaries and traders who established colonies and missions in North America in later centuries, came into closer contact with the Indians, and it is to them that we are indebted for the earliest written accounts of the native races.

The Indians had been the only inhabitants of the North American continent for thousands of years before ever a white man set foot in that land. They have no written history, but their antiquity is proved beyond a doubt by the innumerable stone implements, pipes, and ornaments, which are constantly being found on the sites of their ancient camping places by those interested in archaeological research.

From whence came these Canadian aborigines ? This will always be a debatable question, but some think that in very early times the American continent was peopled from the north-west by men of the Mongolian race, or by a mixed race, who came from north-eastern Asia by way of the Behring Straits. There would be nothing impossible in this, for in all probability there was then dry land or ice between what is now the mainland of Alaska and north-eastern Asia.

There is a remarkable uniformity in the Indian type from the Esquimaux in the north of Canada to the Araucanians in Chili. Indeed the latter bore a very strong resemblance to the Iroquois and Algonquin Indians of Canada. The farther south these aborigines penetrated, the higher was their civilisation, which

was to be expected as their environment in the south was far more favourable than that of the far north. The Esquimaux remain the most primitive of all, and have changed the least during the passing of the centuries, and it is easy even to-day to see in their general appearance a resemblance to the Mongolian type.

A great authority on Indian history has given it as his considered opinion that the Indian population of America, north of Mexico, at the period of the earliest white settlement, was about 1,140,000, of which about 860,000 were within the present limits of the United States, while the remainder were in Canada. The same authority, Mr. Mooney, of the Bureau of American Ethnology, estimates that the number has been reduced by about two-thirds through disease and other causes following the settlement of European races in North America.

The fact most interesting to us at the present time is that the Indian population of Canada is about 105,000, and that this figure remains fairly steady. The survivors of the Indian races of Canada, who have withstood the shock of the European invasion, are now unlikely to suffer any further serious diminution in numbers, although, on the other hand, as they become more and more assimilated by the newer population, their ancient characteristics will tend to disappear.

Before this assimilation progresses further, it is interesting to consider what were the racial habits of the Canadian Indian which marked him as a type distinct from the other races of mankind.

First of all he was a dweller in the open air, and essentially a hunter rather than an agriculturist, although in later times some tribes of Indians settled in favourable localities did grow maize and tobacco, which were articles of trade between the various

tribes. The Indian in his native state lived in small tribal communities, seldom, however, in villages ; the territory of the tribe was a hunting ground rather than a settlement, over which the families or individuals ranged, governed only by their inclinations and the seasons.

The Canadian Indians encountered by the early explorers and missionaries were, frankly, savages, and often cannibals. Jacques Cartier, describing the Canadian Indians whom he met in 1534, wrote :—

“ The natives can, with truth, be called savages, as there are no people poorer in the world. Their whole clothing consists of a small skin with which they cover their loins, they also put old skins above and across their bodies, they have their heads completely shaven, except a lock on the top of the head, which they allow to grow as long as a horse’s tail ; they tie it to their heads with small leather cords. Their dwellings are their canoes, which they turn upside down, and lie under them on the bare ground. They eat their meat almost raw, merely warming it over coals, the same with fish.”

The savage nature of the Indians in early times found expression in almost continuous warfare and feuds, particularly amongst themselves, for at no time was the Indian race united as a nation. Tribes of Indians were often hereditary enemies of each other, and thought little of going on the war-path, and travelling hundreds of miles in order to have their revenge on some other tribe of Indians at a distance.

The early white travellers and settlers were often massacred by Indians, whose passion for scalps has become proverbial. Some tribes of Indians were faithful allies of the white men, and even took up arms on their behalf, but it often happened that white men who had been quite safe in the territory of a

friendly tribe were ambushed by another hostile tribe in the course of their journeyings, and on these occasions the Indians who accompanied them fared as badly at the hands of their own race as the white men.

When Radisson and Chouart landed, 1658, on Manitoulin Island, Ontario, the two Frenchmen and their allies captured an Indian war party of Ottawas that had gone in search of a band of Iroquois warriors, who were in hiding on the island, waiting an opportunity to attack the Ottawas. The Ottawas had found and defeated the enemy, bringing back eight dead bodies, which they roasted and devoured, and three living Iroquois, whom they slowly tortured to death, cut up, and boiled in their kettles, dividing the morsels among themselves, their children, and squaws. "Thus," as Radisson writes, "consoling the sorrowful relatives for their dead, slain in battle."

It seems that time had wrought no change in the savage nature of the Ottawas, for one hundred years after this frightful feast, their descendants were still cannibals on occasions. Father Rouband, the Abnakis missionary, who accompanied Montcalm on his expedition against the English troops holding Port George, Western New York (1757) records this terrible and bloody orgy of Montcalm's Ottawa allies:—

" My tent had been placed in the middle of the encampment of the Outaouacs. The first object which presented itself to my eyes on arriving there was a large fire, while the wooden stakes fixed in the earth gave signs of a feast. There was, indeed, one taking place. But, oh ! Heaven ! what a feast ! The remains of the body of a poor Englishman was there, the skin stripped off, and more than one-half the flesh gone. A moment after I saw these inhuman beings eat with famishing avidity of this human flesh ; I saw them taking up the detestable broth in large

spoons, and, apparently without being able to satisfy themselves with it. They informed me that they had prepared themselves for this feast by drinking from skulls filled with human blood, while their smeared faces and bloody lips furnished evidence of the truth of this story. What rendered it more sad was that they had placed very near them ten Englishmen to be spectators of their infamous repast."

It will be pleasanter to pass over any further references to the bad side of the Indian character in those far-off days, and say something about the more interesting and better aspects of Indian character after it had gradually been tamed by contact with the white man and by the religious influences of a long and noble race of missionaries.

A Report of the Department of Indian Affairs (Canada) thus classifies the various Indian tribes of Canada :—

"The Indian tribes of Canada were numerous, and they are separated by those who have studied their language into different linguistic stocks—namely, the Algonquin, Iroquoian, Siouan, Athapascan, Kootenay, Salish, Wakashan, Haida, and Tsimshian. The most numerous stock is the Algonquin, which extends from the Atlantic coast to the Rocky Mountains, and includes the Micmacs of the Maritime Provinces ; the Hurons and Algonquin, Maliseets and Naskapees of Quebec ; the Ojibbewas or Chippewas of Ontario ; and the Crees, Bloods, Peigans, and Blackfeet of the Western Provinces. Next in strength to the Algonquin stock comes the Iroquoian stock (Six Nations Confederacy), which is not aboriginal to Canada, but migrated from the United States, and is settled in Ontario and Quebec. The Athapascan stock covers the northern parts of Alberta, Saskatchewan, the North-west Territories, Yukon, and the northern interior of British Columbia.

"There are only a few bands of Siouans in Canada. They are found in the Prairie Provinces, and, like the Iroquois, migrated from the United States. With the exception of the Athapascans tribes of the northern interior above referred to, the Indians of British Columbia appear to be wholly separate races from the other native inhabitants of Canada, their customs, arts, and crafts, physical characteristics and temperament bearing little similarity to those of the Indians of the eastern and prairie provinces. The British Columbia Indians are divided into several linguistic stocks, namely, Kootenay, found in the south-eastern interior; the Salish, which is the most numerous, in the south-western part of the province, and the Wakashan or Kwakiutl-nootka, and Haida and Tsimshian in the northern coastal districts."

But, whatever stock or tribe he belonged to, the Indian in his natural state was invariably a hunter and a wanderer; his habits of life were peculiar to himself; and consequently presented many features of great interest to the European.

Even before the advent of the white man, the Canadian Indians had carried on an extensive and far-reaching trade among themselves. Of course, this trade was simply one of barter, and included such articles as Indian corn, furs, tobacco, pemmican, mats, canoes, shells, and ornaments, bead baskets, pipes, stone weapons, clay pots, and other necessities of their primitive life. The Indians had also their own simple method of mining and smelting copper, on the shores of Lake Superior. The native traders who brought furs from the north, and returned with tobacco and corn and ornaments from the south, travelled great distances along the chains of waterways which link up distant parts of the Dominion, and their ancient trails and portages can still often be identified with certainty, and, indeed, are used

to-day. Stone weapons and metal objects, which were undoubtedly manufactured in certain parts of Canada, have been found on Indian sites thousands of miles distant, showing how far-reaching were the well-beaten routes of Indian travel and trade even in pre-historic times.

As a hunter he travelled much, and in his own way the Indian had always been an extraordinary efficient traveller. On foot he was as fleet as an arrow, and could travel for hundreds of miles through forests in a straight line with unfailing certainty. On his feet he wore moccasins made by his squaw from the hide of the caribou, the buffalo, or the elk. In winter he used snow-shoes of his own invention, which are still manufactured and worn exactly after the Indian pattern of a thousand years ago. To convey his load in winter he used the "train," toboggan, or sleigh, in early times made of two smooth pieces of birch seven feet long with the front ends bent upwards, and joined together with cross slats and strips of moose hide. Nowadays these sleighs are usually made of a thin board, and Indians and white men alike have them drawn by teams of dogs.

But the greatest achievement of the Canadian Indian was undoubtedly the birch-bark canoe. It has been said truly that no civilised or semi-civilised race the world over has ever produced anything so cleverly made, and so admirably suited to its purpose, as the birch-bark canoes made by the Algonquins, living in that part of Canada which is now Ontario.

Throughout the bounds of the great Province of Ontario, from the Ottawa to the headwaters of the Lake of the Woods, and from Hudson Bay in the far north to the world-renowned waterfalls of Niagara in the south, the waters were dotted in many places during the summer, even in pre-French times, with the various forms of canoes manufactured and utilised

by the aborigines. Besides their canoes for speedy travel, which carried only one or two passengers, they had their transportation canoes of great length and carrying capacity.

These canoes are well described by the early missionary fathers, as seen by them when bringing their huge cargoes of pelts down the Mattawa, Ottawa, and St. Lawrence as far as Quebec. They were adopted by the voyageurs of a later date, and became an important factor in earning dividends for the Hudson Bay Company and its great rival.

"All this they do so easily," says one of the missionaries, "through the skilful use and great convenience of canoes, which are little skiffs made of birch-bark, narrow and closed at both ends, like the crest of a morion; the body is like a large hollow cradle; they are eight or ten feet long; moreover, so capacious that a single one of them will hold an entire household of five or six persons, with all their dogs, sacks, skins, kettles, and other heavy baggage. And the best part of it is, that they can land wherever they like, which we cannot do with our shallows or sailing boats; for the most heavily-loaded canoe can draw only half a foot of water, and unloaded it is so light that you can easily pick it up and carry it away with your left hand; so rapidly sculled that, without any effort, in good weather, you can make thirty or forty miles a day; nevertheless, we scarcely see these savages posting along at this rate, for their days are all nothing but pastime. They are never in a hurry."

The Indian war canoe was of a heavier build, and capable of carrying as many as twenty-four warriors. It was frequently made from the first log of a pine tree, shaped and hollowed by the use of fire, and with stone axes and adzes. When finished by polishing, they were, in utility, almost as good as the birch-bark canoes, only much heavier. By means of these

canoes much of the travel and transportation during the summer months was carried on. In their handling of a canoe they were remarkably clever. The portages, from one river or lake to another, were all well known to them, and the speed in which they transferred across a portage was simply marvellous.

While I was writing this article, a member of my staff furnished me with the following characteristic little sketch of an Ontario Indian he was very familiar with some years ago.

“ When I was a boy (this friend says), an old Indian who lived at Iroquois, on the St. Lawrence, used to come regularly every season to the farm where I was born on the Rideau River. He had regularly paid these yearly visits in my grandfather’s time and in my father’s time, and during that long course of years he was always made welcome, and made the farm his headquarters while he was engaged in hunting. Sometimes he brought a canoe with him, and if he failed to do so, he always set about making one for himself immediately on his arrival.

“ I will never forget my astonishment, as season after season I watched that old Indian—who, the last time I saw him, was 82 years of age—hewing his canoe out of a basswood log. His only tool was an adze, and it was marvellous to see the old man standing sideways to the log, and swinging the adze over his shoulder at every blow.

“ To the uninitiated, it almost seemed as if he was simply smashing the log to pieces, but as you watched you would see him steadily and surely hollow it out into the shape of a canoe. Even when he had reduced the thickness of the bottom of his canoe to half an inch, his blows were every bit as vigorous as before, and one expected to see his adze go right through the bottom, but this never happened. The old man’s touch was absolutely sure, and in a day or two he had

fashioned from the rough log a beautiful little vessel which he immediately put into use, and employed during the whole of his hunting season.

"I often accompanied him in his canoe, and was always astonished at his remarkable powers of observation, his agility in handling the canoe, and his quickness in hunting. He used to stoop down in the canoe with his gun at full cock between his knees, his hands, of course, were employed with the paddle, and the instant he saw the movement of a musk rat his gun was raised, aimed, and fired with incredible swiftness and unerring accuracy.

"I have seen him stand up in the canoe in fast-running water, which was bringing down great pieces of ice, and yet making the canoe do everything he wanted, apparently without effort.

"He spoke as good English as any other Canadian, and liked to talk about old times, and he could point out a tree or a stump which had figured in some hunting episode fifty years before, and tell you all about the events of that particular occasion.

"As one watched that old Indian setting traps, or hunting with the gun, and observed his almost uncanny wariness, and see how he could, from observation of a track in the snow or a piece of disturbed vegetation, tell you what wild animal had passed that way and when, it was very easy to picture in one's imagination the life of the Indian in the olden time. One could not help but feel pleased that, after the many changes which have been brought about in Canada during the past 200 or 300 years, so many Indians are still able to support themselves in comfort by following the hunt as their ancestors did in those great northern woods, long before any white man ever set foot in Canada."

To-day, the Indians of Canada are the special objects of the paternal care of the Dominion Government.

While safeguarding the rights of the Indians, rights that have been assured to them by numerous treaties in the past, it has always been the policy of the Canadian Government to educate and help the Indians, with the object of making them self-supporting, rather than pauperise them by doles. The Government has set aside adequate reserves of land on which the Indians may live—1625 reserves in all; makes cash grants for development purposes within these reserves; provides *per capita* annuities to the Indians; and gives them assistance in agriculture, stock-raising, hunting, trapping, etc., as particular circumstances may require. There is in the Government Administration a Department of Indian Affairs which looks after the Indians in every possible way.

It is very gratifying to be able to say that the education of the Indian children, and the encouragement given to adult Indians for many years past, have now resulted in the assimilation of the Indians, to a very large extent, in the general community. Almost every industry, trade, and occupation in Canada now has its Indian representatives, and there have been not a few Indian graduates who have passed through the universities. Amongst the humbler population of Indians, many of them still follow their ancient occupations.

In the maritime provinces many Indians are engaged in hunting, trapping, fishing, and farming. In Ontario and Quebec the Indians have made marked progress in agriculture, while a great many of them make a good income from the manufacture of their native wares, such as baskets, moccasins, snow-shoes, etc. Hunting and trapping are still the principal occupations amongst the Indians of the northern parts of Ontario and Quebec.

In the hunting season many Indians are employed as guides by tourists and hunters.

In the prairie provinces also the Indians have made marked progress in farming and stock raising, and many of them possess excellent farms on their reserves. Upon leaving school the young Indian who wants to take up farming is assisted by the Government with a grant of cattle, or horses, implements, tools, and building material. In the whole of Canada the Indians have over 221,000 acres under crops.

In British Columbia the principal occupations of the Indians living on the coast are fishing, and working in the salmon canneries; many of the Indian fishermen have motor fishing boats of their own, while in interior portions of the province a good many are engaged in agriculture. In the north of British Columbia hunting and trapping are the principal occupations of the Indians, as well as in the Yukon territory.

The Indians, as a class, are practically as healthy nowadays as the other sections of the Canadian community, except that they seem to be more susceptible to tuberculosis than European races.

In their native state the Algonquins and Athabascans lived in tepees or Indian tents, and the Iroquois in log huts. The British Columbia Indians on the coast, where they have settlements, used to live in rough houses made of timber. To-day the younger Indians are quick to recognise the advantages of a properly-constructed house, and many of them have homes that are as comfortable as those of other working men. Those Indians who live in close contact with the communities of Canada speak English and dress just as Canadians do, and can scarcely be recognised from their neighbours except by their colour. In the less settled districts, however, the Indians still retain some of their picturesque features as a race, living often in tepees and travelling about with their sleighs and dogs, just as their ancestors did.

During the European War, 1914-1918, four thousand Indians enlisted in the Canadian Forces ; every one of them as volunteers, and at the front many of them won great distinction as marksmen and sharp-shooters. It is interesting to know that many of these men, on their return to Canada, have taken advantage of the provision of the Soldiers' Settlement Act, which applies to them as well as to other Canadian soldiers, and have, with the Government's help, set up in business as farmers with success.



Badge of Newfoundland.

## CHAPTER VII

### NEWFOUNDLAND AND THE LABRADOR

BY

SIR ALEXANDER HARRIS, K.C.M.G., C.B., C.V.O.,  
*Formerly Governor of Newfoundland.*

Two native races in Newfoundland and its dependencies at the present day fall within the scope of the present work. But some notice must also be taken of the aboriginal inhabitants who became extinct about a century ago: their sad story is not creditable to the early settlers.

#### I.—THE BEOTHUCKS<sup>1</sup>

Cabot, the discoverer of Newfoundland, appears to have established friendly relations with the natives he found there and to have brought some of them over to Europe. It is not till about a third of a century later (1534) that we get from Jacques Cartier a definite description of them.

“ Men of indifferente good stature and bignesse but wild and unruly. They wear their hair tied on the top like a wreath of bay. . . . They are clothed with wild beasts’ skins. . . . They paint themselves with certain roan colours.”

<sup>1</sup> The late Mr. James Howley collected practically all the extant information about this race in a monograph entitled *The Beothucks or Red Indians—the Aboriginal Inhabitants of Newfoundland*: Cambridge University Press, 1915.

About half a century later we have another authentic account of the natives from *A Discourse and Discovery of the Newe-founde-lande*, by Richard Whitbourne, who voyaged thither in 1582 to trade with "the savage people."

"The natural inhabitants of the country, as they are but few in number, so they are something rude and savage people, having neither knowledge of God, nor living under any kind of civil government. In their habits, customs, and manners they resemble the Indians of the continent, from whence (I suppose) they come. They live together in the northern and western part of the country, which is seldom frequented by the English: but the French and Biscaines (who resort thither yearly . . .) report them to be an ingenious and tractable people (being well used) . . ."

But this tractable people were soon turned into suspicious enemies. John Guy of Bristol, in 1619, seems to have established most friendly relations with them: but the next year some traders, whom they mistook for Guy returning, shot them down without warning. About the same time they came into collision with the French fishermen on part of the Newfoundland coast; these by the offer of rewards induced the Micmacs, who annually visited the island, to attack the Beothucks. The Micmacs passed by the inland waterways to the very heart of the Red Indian territory and drove the Beothucks into collision with the ignorant and often brutal fishermen who came annually into Notre Dame Bay and its many inlets. So the aborigines were soon fighting for their lives, attacked on two sides by enemies who had the advantage of firearms.

Within a century and a half of the first British settlement, Sir Joseph Banks, who visited the colony for scientific purposes in 1766, spoke of the Beothucks as in a perpetual state of warfare with "our people

who fish in these parts"; he computed that there were only about 500 left. It was shortly afterwards and possibly in part as a result of Banks's report that the Government made some effort to save the remnant of these natives.

In 1768 the Governor, Sir Hugh Palliser, sent an expedition up the Exploits River to get into communication with the Beothucks; in 1769 his successor issued a proclamation enjoining proper treatment of natives and threatening offenders with dire pains and penalties; yet in 1793 the committee which sat in Westminster to inquire into the state of the Trade to Newfoundland, were told in evidence that the natives were still "pursued with outrage and murder." Serious efforts were made in the early part of the nineteenth century to effect touch with them. Unfortunately the method adopted by the proclamations of 1807 and 1813, viz.: that of offering a reward for inducing any Indian to come to the seat of Government, was not calculated to allay suspicions. It led to unfortunate collisions. Then came Cormack's plucky journey with just one Micmac companion across the centre of the island to find the habitats of the Beothucks and win their confidence. He computed them as numbering about 156, but they were rapidly dwindling. The net result of all these efforts was the "capture" (there is no other word) of about three women, two of whom have left their names as a dying witness to an extinct race. From Mary Marsh, taken in 1819, and Shawnawdithit, the younger of the women brought to Twillingate in 1823, was obtained before their death most of the extant information about a people which Cormack describes as "a bold, heroic, and purely self-dependent nation, never having either courted or been subdued by other tribes or Europeans."

## II.—THE MICMACS

The Micmac Indians in Newfoundland were a portion of the tribe well known in Nova Scotia and elsewhere which migrated to Newfoundland within historical times. They came across from Cape Breton, partly at the suggestion of the French, and made their way by the rivers from Bay d'Espoir into the interior of the country, and so over the watershed to the northern streams, where they came into collision with the Boethucks as already mentioned. Their regular line of migration seems clear from their presence to-day mainly on the Conne River flowing into Bay d'Espoir and the Gander region on the north-east of the island ; many of them to this day communicate with one another across the inland waterways.

There are now few pure-bred Micmacs in Newfoundland : even in their two main settlements the half-bred element predominates. The chief settlement is that on the Conne River ; the other is at Glenwood on the Gander, showing a tendency to break up, and become absorbed in the general population.

The Micmac settlement at Conne River is on a reservation portioned off about the year 1872 : it originally contained twenty-five blocks of about thirty acres each with a water frontage on the river. It is on the slope of a wooded hill, parts of which are suitable for building and gardens ; but even now, as fifteen years ago when Sir W. Macgregor reported on the settlement, the houses are rough and crude, and the cultivation of a very primitive character : there are but few cows or sheep or even fowls. The settlement has, in fact, progressed very little in its fifty years. The present half-bred Micmacs, like their forbears, are hunters and trappers, with little interest even in fishing or the sea. The head of each family

has his own ground in the interior, over which he hunts ; and they resent the intrusion of Europeans. Herein lies a serious problem for the future—the question of recognising generally unwritten limits which the half-Indian hunter respects without question.

In the spring and early summer the men are at home in their settlement : towards September, proceeding into the interior, they lay the foundation of the year's supply of meat (caribou) ; returning before winter sets in, they prepare their traps for the fur animals, and once more go out on their trapping grounds not only to set the traps but to get further supplies of caribou meat.

The Conne River Micmacs preserve their tribal connection with their Nova Scotia brethren, the chief of whom appoints the chief of the Newfoundland settlement, but with the approval of the priest in charge of the latter : formal insignia of office conferred by the Nova Scotia Chief are paid for by the local community.

Doubtless as a result of their early connection with the French, the Micmacs adhere to the Roman Catholic faith ; the priest in charge of Bay d'Espoir visits them regularly. Under his auspices a school was opened in 1908, and the settlement is thus brought under the general educational system of the colony ; it is, of course, specially open to the difficulties which assail education in isolated outports. Sir W. Macgregor was impressed with the brightness of the children, and looked to great results from education.

The Conne River settlement has some twenty-three or twenty-four families, or 125 persons in all.

The Glenwood settlement probably regards itself as a sort of offshoot of the southern settlement with which it maintains a certain irregular communication by the paths already referred to. It has become part

of the ordinary village, though the Indian families live close together ; several of the men are in regular employ as guides or lumbermen. These Indians, or rather half-breeds, are all Roman Catholics; their children are sent to such schools as are available ; brown-complexioned and black-haired, they are a quite attractive addition to the childhood of that part.

At Glenwood there cannot be more than about eight families, or some thirty to forty persons in all.

From a political point of view the Micmacs may be considered as fully incorporated in the Colony of Newfoundland—qualified to exercise the franchise so far as they satisfy the conditions laid down by law. There is no longer any reason to regard them as a separate entity demanding special regulations.

### III.—THE LABRADOR INDIANS

A few words will suffice for the Indians—now very largely half-breeds—who fall under the jurisdiction of Newfoundland in the southern part of the Labrador, as far north as North-West River and Hamilton Inlet. In origin they were partly Micmacs, partly offshoots of other mainland tribes. They have fallen into the ordinary life of the isolated settlements as trappers and fishermen.

The missionaries at Cartwright and North-West River have found these “ Indians ” capable of much development ; they sent of their best to fight for the Empire in the late war, and tablets in the little churches commemorate their sacrifice.

The Montagnais or Mountain Indians are regular immigrants from the country on the watershed : they come down yearly in the summer to the coast at the North-West River, where they trade with the

Hudson Bay Company's post and with merchants from Newfoundland. For many years it has been customary for one of the Roman Catholic clergy to visit North-West River during their stay. Only this last year one of the most popular of the colony's priests gave his life in this work.

#### IV.—THE ESKIMO

In the northern part of the Labrador, in a country which is only for a short period of the year free from ice, lives the race which is now the most distinctive native community under the jurisdiction of Newfoundland. The name Eskimo (French Esquimaux) is associated with Labrador on all the earlier maps of America. There is better knowledge of this people than of the others so far mentioned—chiefly due to their connection of some 150 years with the Moravian missions established amongst them at the instance of Sir Hugh Palliser.

To many of us the picture of the fur-clad Eskimo braving the sea in his little canoe or building his round house of frozen snow is a familiar one. The main characteristics of the race still survive in Labrador. They not improbably made their way over the snows from the far north-east, for they seem to have affinity to the Mongol races. The name by which we know them is said to be given by the Algonquins and to mean "eaters of raw flesh." In their own language, following a very common law amongst primitive people they call themselves "the people"—*innuit*.

The Eskimos are of medium size and strongly built; their hair is black, smooth, and straight; their forehead small, eyes brown and narrow; cheekbones prominent, making their small, delicate nose appear almost "ridiculous"; very little hair on the men's

faces. Their voices are remarkably musical. They are naturally hunters and fishermen and clever in controlling the dogs which draw their sledges. They are excellent mimics, have considerable sense of humour, and a taste for music and drawing. Their houses in the summer are a kind of wigwam—in the winter a rough structure of stones, turf, and wood, with the floor well below the level of the ground; only occasionally do they build the round snow-houses of the pictures. They manufacture with skill their little boats (*kayaks*), sledges (*komatiks*), harpoons, etc., and also their clothing made from skins and furs. They also make quite attractive models of the apparatus of their daily life and dolls in Eskimo dress.

These people seem to have no trace of a tribal polity: they live by families only—connected by common interest. There is some trace of a recognition of family rights over certain areas for trapping and fishing. Nowadays, at any rate, they are monogamous even outside the reach of the missionaries. Their conception of any life after death was such as is common to so many primitive tribes—their dead being apparently the object of some sort of ancestor worship, laid to rest amid the rocks with their stone lamp, stone pot, spear heads, etc., around them.

What their original numbers may have been we have now no authentic data to determine: our earliest historical knowledge of these Eskimos shows them in violent conflict with the European fishermen and traders from Newfoundland: they probably suffered severely even where there was not open fighting.

In April, 1765, Sir Hugh Palliser, Governor of Newfoundland, in an order "for establishing communication and trade with the Esquimaux savages of the Coast of Labrador" strongly condemned the "wicked practices" of the traders and particularly that of supplying the Eskimo with strong liquor.

At the same time the Governor invited the society of the Moravians (*Unitas Fratrum*)<sup>1</sup> to establish a mission amongst these people under the patronage of the Government of Newfoundland. In 1769 the home Government supported the project. In 1771 the first mission of the Moravians was actually established; and from that time onwards they have gradually extended their civilisation over the Northern Eskimo along 500 miles of coastline from Makkovik north to Port Burwell. The story of these natives becomes the story of the missions with some general supervision from the Government of the colony.<sup>2</sup> Of late years the usual mail services of the colony have been extended to Nain—the centre of the missions—in the summer, and there has been more regular (but still partial) effort to enforce justice, at any rate as between trader and Eskimo.

From Hamilton Inlet southward there are but few pure-bred Eskimos, but Eskimo half-breeds have been absorbed in the ordinary settlements, mainly under the care of the Church of England Mission at Cartwright and bear an excellent character.

The outstanding work of the Moravian missions demands a short detailed notice. In 1771 Nain was founded, in 1774-82 Hopedale followed. Okak seems to have been the next. Hebron came later in 1835; later Killinek in the extreme north on the Canadian frontier, Ramah, and then Makkovik,—the last only in 1896. At all these stations a devoted band of missionaries have gradually brought the Eskimo under the influence of Christianity.<sup>3</sup> The work of the

<sup>1</sup> A Moravian named Ehrhardt had tried to found a mission in 1752, but had been murdered by the Eskimo.

<sup>2</sup> It may be noted that Sir W. Macgregor's visit in 1905 was the first by a Governor of the Dependency.

<sup>3</sup> The head of the missions for many years was Bishop Martin, who only recently retired. They maintain annual touch with London by their own ship, the *Harmony*. In 1921 Nain was burnt down, but is now being rebuilt. To the London Board of the Missions the compiler is indebted for photographs of types.

missions is essentially practical, teaching thrift and organisation: they have a system of advances and credit notes for ordinary use, but in bad times they have kept their flock from starvation by the issue of fish and other rations. Even so, in 1836-7 the natives were reduced to eating skin boots and tents, and many died; possibly trust in the mission has undermined their initiative and self-reliance.

Of late years the influenza has made havoc of the Eskimo. The station at Okak was in 1918 almost wiped out, and has practically been abandoned. The numbers under the care of the missions which rose from 800 in 1827 to some 1200 in 1905 have now been reduced to less than 900.

Apart from the paternal care which they enjoy at the hands of the missionaries, there is no difference in status between the Eskimo and the other settlers. None of these enjoy the franchise because the right of representation has never been extended from the colony to Labrador.

There are still interesting problems to be faced by the Government of Newfoundland in dealing with its remnant of natives in Labrador, but this is not the place even to indicate them.

ASIA



## CHAPTER VIII

### THE MALAY

THIS CHAPTER HAS BEEN COMPILED BY

SIR ERNEST BIRCH, K.C.M.G.,

*Formerly British Resident of Perak, from the published writings of*

SIR FRANK A. SWETTENHAM, G.C.M.G., C.H.,

*Who was for twenty years British Resident of Selangor and Perak, for five years Resident-General, and for three years Governor of the Straits Settlements.*

THE Malay of Malacca, Penang, and Singapore is a different being to the Malay of the Peninsula, of Perak or Pahang, or any of the States that were independent in 1873, and it is the latter who are here described.

The description is the result of years of observation, made under circumstances of close intimacy with every class of Malay society. To acquire this information at first hand, it is necessary to speak, read, and write the language, to sympathise with the people—for without sympathy you cannot win the confidence of a shy and reserved race—to live in their houses, join in their festivities, be allowed to listen to their prayers, to attend the rites of marriage and of burial. The searcher after knowledge must journey with them by land and river and sea; he must take the field with them, join in their sports, listen to their gossip, their complaints, their stories, tend them in sickness, help them when in difficulty, share their sorrows and their joys, respect their prejudices, be

kind to their superstitions and always treat them with consideration.

The Malay is a brown man, rather short of stature, thickset and strong, capable of great endurance. His features, as a rule, are open and pleasant ; he smiles on the man who greets him as an equal. His hair is black, abundant and straight. His nose is inclined to be rather flat and wide at the nostrils, his mouth to be large ; the pupils of his eyes are dark and brilliant, while the whites have a bluish tinge ; his cheek bones are usually rather marked, his chin square and his teeth, in youth, exceedingly white. He is well and cleanly made, stands firmly on his feet and is deft in the use of weapons, in the casting of a net, the handling of a paddle and the management of a boat ; as a rule, he is an expert swimmer and diver. His courage is as good as that of most men, and there is about him an absence of servility which is unusual in the East. On the other hand, he is inclined to swagger, especially with strangers.

His dress is a loose jacket, loose trousers and a *sarong*—a kind of tartan skirt fastened round the waist and reaching to the knee. This garment has many uses ; it serves as a bathing or a sleeping dress ; fastened over one shoulder and under the other arm a man can carry all his luggage in it ; slung on two sticks it forms a very good litter. On his head a Malay commonly wears a coloured kerchief and he knows how to tie it so that it shall be becoming. All these articles of clothing are made of cotton, of silk, of a mixture of the two, or of silk and gold thread, according to the means of the wearer and the circumstances under which they are worn.

In 1874 practically all Malays went about barefoot, for shoes were useless in a roadless country. Nowadays they display a pretty taste in brown, black or patent leather, while the humble wear white canvas

shoes or a native pattern of sandal. In 1874 every Malay had as many weapons as he could carry : say, two daggers in his belt, two spears in his hand, a gun over his shoulder and a long sword under his arm. The boys were usually content with two or three weapons. Now, the men carry umbrellas and the boys slates and books.

The Malay child wears no clothes, and does as it pleases. When the parents are well-to-do there are always several people running about to attend to the child's wishes. I never saw a Malay child slapped and they never seem to cry unless they are ill. They eat when they are hungry and sleep when they feel inclined. The useful *sarong*, slung between two posts of a room, makes an excellent cradle or hammock. From about eight or ten years of age the boy is taught to read and write and learns the *Kôran*. Of course he cannot understand the *Kôran*, because it is in Arabic ; but, if he is a child of the upper class, he has to read it through and it will save his face and delight the ears and hearts of his parents if he can accept the challenge to take his turn when the book is read in the house after the first evening prayer.

Once out of the thraldom of the *guru*, the teacher, the boy of 1874 ran wild and did a deal of mischief, much of which was regarded as a proper exhibition of spirit. If the son of a poor man, he had then to work—to help his father plant rice, fish in the river, tend goats or collect jungle produce. The young Rajahs and other gilded youths took to top-spinning, cock-fighting, gambling, love-making; and some of them to robbery, quarrelling and murder.

The leading characteristic of the Malay of every class is a disinclination to work. Land had no value in the Malay States in 1874, and it was the custom for any one to settle where he pleased on unoccupied and unclaimed land and leave it when he felt inclined.

Less than one month's fitful exertion in twelve, a fish basket in the river or in a swamp, an hour with a casting net in the evening, would supply a man with food. A little more than this and he would have something to sell. Probably that accounts for the Malay's inherent laziness; that and a climate which inclines the body to ease and rest, the mind to dreamy contemplation rather than to strenuous and persistent toil. It is, however, extremely probable that the Malay's disinclination to exert himself is also due to the fact that, in the course of many generations, many hundreds of years, he has learned that when he did set his mind and his body moving, and so acquired money or valuables, these possessions immediately attracted the attention of those who felt that they could make a better use of them than the owner. The Malay is a philosopher and a fatalist and he would reason that, if the world is made like that, it is useless to kick against the pricks.

Whilst the Malay has no stomach for really hard and continuous work, either of the brain or the hands, if you let him take his own time he can produce most beautiful and artistic things. Working in the precious metals, in gold and silver, in a mixed metal of gold and copper called *suasa*, and in a combination of silver, gold and enamel, Malays have made vessels and ornaments and jewellery as beautiful in form, as original in design, and almost as perfect in workmanship as anything of a similar kind to be found in the East.

The Malay smiths were notably makers of spears, kries, all sorts of daggers, a very well-balanced and highly tempered chopper of various patterns, spurs for fighting cocks and a curious kind of scissor used for slicing the betel nut. Some of the wood-carving is excellent and the best now found in the Peninsula is done in the Negri Sembilan, or the Nine States.

In Perak, as well as in Pahang and the other east coast states, the Malays make rough, unglazed pottery of good shapes, ornamented with conventional patterns cut into the clay before it is fired.

Take the Malay on the war-path or any kind of chase, or even on some prosaic expedition which involves travel by river, or sea, or jungle, something, therefore, which has a risk ; then he is thoroughly awake and you will wish for no better servant, no more pleasant or cheery companion.

The Malay is loyal, for loyalty is part of his creed. His is hospitable, generous, extravagant, a gambler, a coxcomb. He is of fair and quick intelligence, a ready imitator, good at most games, and likes to excel ; but more inclined to admire the greater skill of a rival than to be jealous of it. He is reserved with strangers, cordial and sympathetic to his friends ; he has a strong sense of humour and is equally ready to talk or be silent. As a casual acquaintance he is politely uncommunicative ; he will ask a few questions, but seldom give direct answers. Once you have gained his confidence he will probably make no concealments, taking a pleasure in telling you all he can. If he knows you well, he will be almost sure to borrow money from you, and he will seldom find it possible to repay the debt ; but he will hold himself ready to undertake any service on your behalf and you will probably realise in time that the obligation is rather on your side.

Privacy, as we understand it, is unknown in Malaya ; therefore secrets which mean life and death and dishonour are never confined to one or two people ; but it is to the credit of the race that the stranger will find it almost impossible to get from the poorest any information which they believe they are bound in loyalty not to disclose. That is a highly honoured tradition on which their Rajahs and chiefs rely with

great confidence. The *raiat* will only speak when his Rajah, or some one whom he regards in the same light, tells him to do so.

As a race Malays are guided more by their hearts than their heads. They will accept advice, follow a man to death or go there at his bidding, not because he convinces them that it is the more excellent way, but simply because they like him. They will do the behest of a Raja or chief because that also is part of the tradition of loyalty, the injunction of the men of old time ; the responsibility is his, but they are willing to obey him blindly, expecting that he will support them in the day of trouble and prepared to suffer if that be necessary.

There was, in 1874, a very broad line indeed between the ruling classes in Malaya and the *raiat*, the people. The people had no initiative whatever ; they were there to do what their chiefs told them—no more, no less. They never thought whether anything was right or wrong, advantageous to them personally or otherwise ; it was simply, “What is the Raja’s order ?”

By nature and education the Malay is singularly conservative, and thirty years ago he held to customs and traditions with many of which Europeans could not easily sympathise. There was the practice of debt slavery, a custom loathed by those who had to bear the burden of this iniquitous bondage, but upheld as a cherished privilege by the class which was benefited.

The ordinary Malay man is extraordinarily sensitive in regard to any real or fancied affront. When the Malay feels that a slight or insult has been put upon him which, for any reason, he cannot resent, he broods over his trouble till, in a fit of madness, he suddenly seizes a weapon and strikes out blindly at every one he sees—man, woman or child—often beginning

with those of his own family. This is the *amok*, the furious attack in which the madman hopes to find death and an end to his intolerable feelings of injury and dishonour. There can be little doubt that, except in rare instances, those who are suddenly seized by this fury to destroy are homicidal maniacs, and a straw in the current of life gives the suggestion which alone was needed to impel them on their career of destruction.

The Malay has been a Muhammadan since the reign of Sultan Muhammad Shah of Malacca, who flourished in 1276 and made his kingdom the third greatest in the archipelago. The origin of the Malay race is still a matter of doubt, but there are good reasons for believing that Malays are the descendants of people who crossed from the south of India to Sumatra, mixed with a people already inhabiting that island and gradually spread themselves. From Sumatra they worked their way to Java, to Singapore and the Malay Peninsula, to Borneo, Celebes, the other islands of the Archipelago and even to the Philippines.

I have said the Malay is a professing Muhammadan, his life is ruled by the Muhammadan law, and he accepts the teaching and the injunctions of the Moslem priesthood, but, with rare exceptions, he cannot be called devout ; he does not pray five times a day, he does not rigorously observe a forty days' fast, he is not a regular attendant at the mosque. He is married and buried as a Muhammadan, he is circumcised and goes through the outward observances imposed by his faith.

Thirty years ago the Malay was not greatly impressed by the white man. Very few Malays of the Peninsula had ever seen any white men and the popular impression was that they were people with loud voices, indifferent manners and worse customs ; that they

habitually used bad language in their conversation and not infrequently drank to intoxication. That impression has now been removed—to a large extent—but it is easy to understand that these failings were especially abhorrent to the Malay mind. His nature is to be reserved and severely polite and he deeply resents a curiosity which leads Europeans into indiscretion. It is not the custom to ask a Malay his name; it is well to make the inquiry when he cannot hear it, but, if you must know at once, you should ask some one else. Similarly you are not expected to express any curiosity you may feel about where he is going, or on what business, and it is specially advisable not to inquire after the health of his wife and daughters. It is a mistake to enthuse over the beauty or excellence of a Malay's possessions, for the Malay may feel it incumbent on him to ask you to accept what you so greatly admire. If that happens, the European should firmly but politely refuse the proffered gift, remembering that it is not a spontaneous act but the result of his own too pointed remark. If a Malay is wearing a weapon, it is not the custom to ask to be allowed to look at it, and if this imprudence is committed and the owner hands you the *kris*, or whatever it is, you must not unsheathe it without first asking for permission to do so and then you must draw the blade very slowly indeed and sheath it in the same way. Thirty years ago a Malay never moved without his *kris*, when he bathed he took it with him and when he slept it lay by his hand. If it was a famous blade, of Bugis make and perfect in all measurements and every other test, no money would buy it; a common saying was, "Money will buy gold but it will not buy a lucky *kris*." The owner of the "lucky" dagger was supposed to get home on his adversary before the latter could touch him. Therefore for a stranger to try the point of the

weapon on the wall, or the floor, was a grave insult to the owner.

The Malay has the strongest possible objection to a Malay woman marrying or living with a Chinese, and this is another of those matters which have caused a great deal of trouble in the Protected Malay States. A fairly well-to-do Chinese, a small shopkeeper, for instance, appears to make a satisfactory husband, and it has happened that Malay women have preferred life with the Chinese infidel to a harder lot with a man of their own race and faith. The common result was, first a warning to the woman to leave the man of her choice and if that failed the Chinese was killed and sometimes the woman also. If the Chinese chose to become a Muhammadan (*Mualaf*), these primitive measures would not be resorted to, but there was, and there is, a violent objection on the part of the Malay community to these domestic arrangements between the Celestial and the Malay woman.

The attitude of the Malay towards his women is not that which is observed in most Muhammadan countries. Married women seem to have always been allowed a very considerable liberty, and the man who tried to exclude his womenfolk from such amusements and social intercourse as was open to them, was regarded as a jealous curmudgeon and whatever happened to him the sympathies of society were with the ladies of the house and not with the master. On all festal occasions—a wedding, ear-piercing, the appointment of officers by the Sultan and so on—it is the invariable practice to give great entertainments to large numbers of people. At these times those who are invited are expected to bring their wives and often their daughters or other near relatives as well. All these ladies lend a hand in making the necessary preparations for a series of festivities which may last from one or two days to several weeks, and

it is they who organise, direct, and actually assist in all the cooking which is the main feature of the entertainment.

The guests who come from a distance are accommodated in the house of the host, or of any of their own friends in the neighbourhood, and it is usual to give them a meal which would correspond to luncheon—some time between twelve and one o'clock—and a dinner as soon as it is dark—that is, about seven o'clock. The evening meal is the one of real importance. When it is ready, the host and his principal guests sit in a circle on the floor, on mats spread for the purpose, and a great variety of dishes of food are placed in front of them, within easy reach of every one. They are waited upon by girls, who either belong to the house or have come in to help and who are dressed in a sort of uniform and, in the house of the Sultan, they carry a strip of embroidered yellow cloth on their right shoulders. As soon as the diners have taken their places, vessels of water are handed round and every one washes his right hand—that is the hand with which he eats. Then great bowls of boiled rice are served, from which the guests help themselves with a spoon made of wood or of the shell of the coco-nut. For the rest, each man helps himself from the dishes in front of him and when all are satisfied the servants bring a course of sweets—things that are half cake, half pudding or jelly, very sweet and rather insipid. After that there is tea or coffee, another washing of hands and then cigarettes. In the old days the *sireh* box used to be passed round immediately after the meal, and all the older guests indulged in the delights of this astringent. Now the chewing of betel has gone so completely out of fashion that it is seldom seen. *Sireh* is the leaf of a vine on which a little lime is spread with the finger, a scrap of betel nut and a bit of *gambir* are then wrapped up

in the leaf, and the packet put in the mouth and chewed.

Very shortly after the meal was over the guests would leave the house and visit all the various entertainments prepared for their amusement. These would usually consist of Malay theatrical performances, shadow plays, chess, or gambling in one form or another.

When there is no great gathering for a State function, or a ceremony, such as the wedding of the son or daughter of an important person, the Malay still does a great deal of quiet hospitality. Either he entertains his own friends who are visiting or passing that way, or some stranger comes with an introduction or recommendation which practically makes the offer of hospitality a necessity. Amongst those who know each other well it often happens that no invitation is given in so many words ; the visitor is there, and, when a meal is served, he shares it as a matter of course. It is on such occasions that the privileged friend sees the real inner life of a Malay family ; for after dinner his host will invite him behind the curtain, where he will meet all the ladies of the household, and probably some of their relatives and friends as well.

Even in his most unregenerate days the Malay dearly loved a real picnic. He would go with a great party, on elephants or by boat, to some charming spot in the depths of the jungle, a picturesque pool or waterfall on some clear mountain stream and, after a few hours of fishing, swimming, diving, rock-sliding or similar sports, fires would be made, rice cooked, fish roasted and a most excellent meal improvised out of almost nothing, served on leaves of the wild plantain and eaten with fingers only. Here you would find men, women and girls all mixing perfectly freely, and with very little pretence at shyness ; but it is

true that the party would include no real strangers. There is something strangely attractive and fascinating about the primeval forest and even now it is probable that to Perak Malays of every class, especially those of the Sultan's own household, nothing would appeal more than four or five days' journey, in boats or on elephants, into some part of the country which is still practically unexplored.

If I give to the Malay woman a space which is all inadequate to her merits and influence on Malay society, it is not because I count her as a negligible quantity, but because, as a matter of history, she never had much to do with those affairs with which this book is mainly concerned. As a child she does not receive as much attention as a boy, but she is invested with the national garment, a tiny *sarong*, rather earlier than he is. Whilst the boy is learning to paddle a boat and help his father in any way he can, or is being taught the *aliph-ba-ta* (the Arabic alphabet) and the reading of the Kôran, she is mostly in the house, helps her mother to carry water from the river, morning and evening, when all Malays bathe, and assists in the cooking, or any other household work. A Malay cottage is the embodiment of untidiness and usually of dirt and insanitariness, but in this respect there has been a marked improvement of late years. The house is not cumbered by furniture or any attempt at decoration ; there are no tables or chairs, no whitewash and very little paint. The floor, which is always raised four or five feet above the ground, is of planks, nibong, or split bamboos, and it is covered with mats ; the walls are of plank or palm leaves, bark or interlaced cane ; the thatch is of palm leaves. Every small Malay house is divided into three parts : a narrow veranda in front and the rest of the floor space, under the main roof, form the house, while, tacked on behind, is a small

excrescence used as a kitchen. The same principle is carried out in more pretentious houses, only each of the three divisions is much larger and often forms a separate building, joined to the next one by a few feet of covered way. Strangers seldom pass beyond the veranda.

In some of the Malay States a great deal of weaving—often very beautiful—is done; there almost every house has a loom and the main occupation of the women of all classes is the making of silk or cotton fabrics. In Perak they pride themselves on their skill in mat-making and embroidery and not without reason. In Kedah the women plait the inner fibre of the pandanus into baskets of a marvellous fineness, and they also weave a cloth of mixed silk and cotton. Selangor was once famous for its *sarongs* of cloth of gold, but years of warfare destroyed the industry and now they make nothing. In Pahang the women make excellent mats, of various colours, and very good silk cloth; but the best and most beautiful weaving is done in Trengganu, one of the unfederated States on the east coast, and in Kelantan, its northern neighbour.

The girls of poor people share all the women's tasks from an early age and, in the season, they do most of the lighter work in the planting, the reaping, the winnowing, husking and pounding of rice. Many of them find time to learn to read and write and, nowadays, in the Federated Malay States there are successful schools for Malay girls. A girl sometimes, but very rarely, marries at fourteen, but from seventeen to twenty is a much more common age. Until she marries she is not supposed to have any conversation with men and when out of doors (never alone of course) she meets a man she covers her face with extreme ostentation. Sometimes the effort is so great that her face is for a moment entirely disclosed. It

is no doubt the result of excessive modesty and nervousness.

Malay girls are sometimes surprisingly fair for Easterns, but they vary from all shades of light to dark brown. Their hair is always black and usually abundant ; their eyes are large and dark, their noses rather flat, mouths of moderate size but good shape, and teeth extremely white ; they have good foreheads, round chins, and their faces are rather wide than oval. They nearly always have strongly marked eyebrows and long curling eyelashes. The general effect is that of a pleasant and good-humoured face, with plenty of character but no great claim to beauty. In height they are short, cleanly made and well formed, with smooth skin, very small hands, and small but square-toed feet. They admire small waists but use no appliances to produce them. As a rule they have pleasant voices and seldom raise them. In the house they wear a *sarong* and a loose jacket, long or short, but when dressed to be seen they often wear two *sarongs*, one over the other, and a long jacket of silk or satin, fastened in front by three gold or jewelled brooches. Their hair is pulled off their foreheads and fastened in a knot behind with five or six jewelled pins. They are fond of rings, bracelets and ear-rings, and are not above the use of powder on their faces.

The most enlightened Malay parents would not press a girl to marry if she expressed a strong objection to the suitor. The wedding, especially in the case of the children of people of rank, is a very long, very tedious and very expensive affair ; all that need be said about it here is, that the wearing of orange blossoms and the throwing of rice are both Eastern customs, and simply mean "be fruitful." The giving of wedding gifts, always money, is also a well-recognised custom amongst Malays. I have often known the Sultan of Perak,—one of the most thoughtful of hosts

—when he invited Europeans to witness the final and chiefest ceremony at the marriage of one of His Highness's children, provide his guests with the wedding gift lest they should be taken unawares.

With poor people it is usual for the bride to accompany her husband to his own home very shortly after the conclusion of the marriage ceremony ; with Rajas and people of rank, the bridegroom often stays for months in the house of his wife's parents before they will let her go away. Not infrequently the husband goes and leaves his wife with her parents ; he may even return several times, making long or short visits, before he can persuade the parents to part with their daughter. When at last she does leave her home it is possibly only for an absence of a few months and for years she may spend almost as much of her time with her parents as with her husband. A Malay, like other Muhammadans, is allowed by law to have four wives at the same time and, if he can afford it, he usually takes advantage of the permission. It nearly always happens that one of these ladies, of the same social rank as her husband, is the principal wife and she remains ; while the others, or some of them, are divorced and replaced. When a man embarks on the luxury, or extravagance, of more than one wife, it is always understood that he is prepared to provide a separate house and establishment for each additional lady and it is his duty to treat them all alike, to pass the same amount of time with each and, if he makes a present to one, to give an identical present to each of the others. It need not be assumed that all Malays are scrupulous to act up to the letter of this law but some of them do. Divorce is certainly easy, but it is by no means the man who alone seeks it, and when the tie has been finally loosed and the hundred days of grace, or abstinence, have expired, the woman is almost as certain to

re-marry as the man, especially if she is young. Women of good birth and of means sometimes marry for the third or fourth time, when they are between fifty and sixty years of age, but as a rule Malay ladies do not count on their physical attractions after they have reached the age of forty.

Once a woman has married and so obtained a certain amount of independence, she will, especially if she is of strong character, develop into a considerable power in her own household and often exert her influence in many directions beyond those narrow limits. She may earn a reputation as a good housewife, an excellent manager, a capital hostess, and even develop much business capacity. As the wife of an official she takes an interest in State affairs and does her best to push her husband's claims to preferment and title ; in this last ambition she has a special interest, for certain offices and titles held by the husband confer rank and title on his principal wife and that helps greatly to assure her position.

It is also the custom to grant offices, titles, and salaries to ladies connected with the court, and in these cases the husband, if there is one, is not concerned. Malay women of the better class, and most of those in the entourage of the Sultan and the leading Rajas, are distinctly intelligent if they cannot be called highly educated. They are usually of a cheerful temperament, capital company, witty and interesting, with a strong sense of humour ; a man has to do his best to hold his own in their society. Both men and women are very quick and accurate in their estimate of strangers of any nationality, and especially of their social status. A Malay man hardly ever speaks of his food, either in anticipation of a meal or in criticism afterwards. Perhaps more curious is the fact that a Malay woman does not discuss another woman's clothes, either in praise or disparagement.

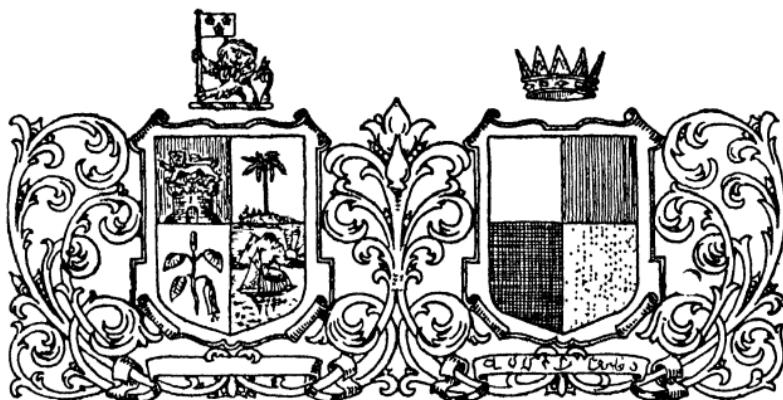
✓ In illness Malays rely upon their own doctors, usually "wise women" with almost no real knowledge. Though the country is now supplied with many excellent hospitals, in the charge of able English surgeons, it is almost impossible to persuade Malays to enter them, except in cases which require surgical treatment. With great difficulty, and the assistance of a legal enactment, the people have been compelled to submit themselves to vaccination, with the result that smallpox, once the greatest scourge of the country, is now almost unknown. This is one of the innovations, the value of which the Malay gratefully recognises.

For any one who has to do with Malays a knowledge of the language is an absolute necessity. To acquire such a smattering of the tongue as will enable a person to carry on a very simple conversation with the various Eastern people to be met with in the Straits Settlements and the Malay States is an easy task; but to speak, read, and write Malay really well is a matter of great difficulty and the knowledge can only be obtained by years of study and constant intercourse with the most cultivated Malays of the Peninsula. The Malays had several written characters of their own before they became Muhammadans. Since that date they have used the Arabic characters and alphabet, with the addition of six letters which were necessary to express sounds not known in the Arabic language. On the other hand, thirteen of the letters are only used in the writing of words of Arabic origin, leaving twenty letters for writing purely Malay words. As in all languages which use the Arabic character, Malay is, of course, written from right to left and what greatly increases the difficulty of reading it is that, to the unskilled eye, there appear to be no divisions between the words, no beginnings or ends of sentences, no punctuation, while the vowels are often not written at all. For instance, the common word

minta, which means "to ask," is always written mnt ; the compound word ka-pada, which means "to" is written kpd and the compound word sa-blas, meaning "eleven" is written sbls. Nothing but practice and the context will enable the reader to get over this difficulty and, when an unknown word is met with, the correct pronunciation can only be guessed, though a practised eye will probably divine the pronunciation without hesitation. The language is not burdened with much grammar and for a long time the study is mainly an effort of memory, to learn so many thousands of words and recognise them when met with in print and manuscript. All the real difficulties begin when ordinary conversation is no longer an effort. To speak Malay well, as Malays always talk to each other, is to speak in idioms which, as a rule, have no counterpart in European tongues. This, again, is an effort of memory and the result of constant practice. There is a step further. It is the delight of the Malays, who recognise that they have made conversation a fine art, to talk in parables ; to express what they mean by something which seems to have no connection with the subject under discussion.

In 1921 the population of British Malaya, the Colony of the Straits Settlements and the Malay States, was 3,332,603. Malays, 1,627,108 ; Chinese, 1,173,354 ; Indians, 471,628. The Chinese are chiefly employed in mines and on estates, while a large number are married and settled in the country. The Indians are mostly employed on rubber estates. Education is very advanced. Commencing with a system of vernacular schools throughout the Peninsula, there are schools where a higher education produces Eurasian, Chinese and Indian scholars who obtain appointments in the Civil Service and Commerce, and Malay colleges where the inhabitants of the country qualify for clerical appointments and rise to positions

of trust and responsibility in the Government. As is usual, British protection and civilisation has raised the native population to a higher civilisation and has earned the appreciation of the people and established a great feeling of loyalty to and respect for the British nation.



Arms of  
Straits Settlements. Federated Malay States.

## CHAPTER IX

### SARAWAK

BY

CHARLES HOSE, Hon D.Sc. (Cantab.), F.R.C.I.  
F.R.G.S.,

*Formerly Divisional Resident and Member of the Supreme Council  
in Sarawak, now a Member of the Sarawak State Advisory  
Council, Westminster.*

#### AN INDEPENDENT STATE WITHIN THE EMPIRE

ALONG the western coast of Borneo for some 400 miles lies the country of Sarawak, the shores of which are washed by the China Sea. It is a land of mountains and great rivers, and is practically one unbroken forest. Although surrounded by islands of volcanic origin, Borneo differs from them in presenting but small traces of volcanic activity.

The area of the state is estimated to be about fifty-five thousand square miles. In 1888, all doubt as to the status of Sarawak was removed by its being placed under British protection. Sarawak is still, as it has always been, an absolute monarchy, with an Administrative Council. The population is roughly estimated at 600,000, and is made up chiefly of the following groups of Indonesians: Dayaks (Ibans), Kayans, Kenyahs, Land Dayaks and other Kelantan tribes, Punans, and Muruts. Of these, the Dayak is perhaps the best known to Europeans. In addition to the foregoing, the coastal regions are inhabited by Malays and others peoples (many of

whom have been converted to the Mohammedan faith) as well as by Chinese immigrants, the latter being met with especially in the towns and on the pepper plantations.

Borneo attracted both Dutch and English traders early in the seventeenth century. Neither nation made good its footing, and renewed efforts in the eighteenth century proved vain. Only in the nineteenth century did both Great Britain and Holland succeed in establishing permanent colonies in Borneo, which divide the island unequally between the two Powers. Great Britain controls the north and west of Borneo, forming rather more than a fourth of the whole area. This is divided into (*a*) the State of Sarawak; (*b*) the island of Labuan, lying off the Brunei coast; (*c*) the Sultanate of Brunei; and (*d*) the State of North Borneo, having in all an area of some ninety-three thousand square miles. The whole territory was formerly governed by the Sultans of Brunei, who, by successive grants, have ceded it into British hands.

The State of Sarawak, which is the oldest and largest of these British settlements, was founded in September, 1841, by James Brooke, and is at the present time governed by the third British Rajah, Charles Vyner Brooke. A Sarawak Council, consisting of both English and Malay officials, with several native chiefs, was nominated in 1855 to assist the Rajah. The British Members of the State Council being in the minority. In February, 1857, the Chinese gold miners, excited by the intrigues of a secret society at Canton, rose in revolt, sacked and killed some Englishmen. The Rajah fortunately escaped, and on the arrival of a ship with supplies was able to take the offensive and drive the rebels across the border. Since that time there has been no serious disturbance in Sarawak, but

many punitive expeditions had to be undertaken before the gradual suppression of head-hunting—at one time so rife—could be stamped out.

The bounds of the state were further enlarged in 1861 by the acquisition of the sago districts. In 1862, Great Britain formally acknowledged the independence of Sarawak. The Rajah retired to Devonshire and died in 1868, bequeathing Sarawak to his nephew, Sir Charles Johnson Brooke, under whose rule the state increased and prospered considerably. A hundred miles of coastline northward up to the Baram River was acquired in 1882; and in 1885, 1890, and 1905, by friendly agreement with the Sultan of Brunei, other areas, which for long had been unremunerative and a source of constant trouble to the Sultan of Brunei, were added to Sarawak.

As long ago as the year 1850 J. R. Logan, writing of the highland tribes of the basins of the Kolodan and Irrawadi in Burma, and the south-eastern part of the Brahmaputra, asserted that "the habits of these tribes have a wonderful resemblance in their legends, superstitions, customs, and arts, to those of the inland lank-haired races of Indonesia." This assertion seems to have a large basis in fact, so far as it concerns the tribes of Sarawak of the Kayan-Kenyah group. Of all the peoples of the south-eastern corner of the continent, the one which seems to the writer most closely akin to the Kayans is that which comprises the several tribes of the Karens. These have been regarded by many authors as the indigenous people of Burma. Their own traditions tell of their coming from the north, across a great river of sand, and of having been driven out of the basin of the Irrawadi at a later date. They were formerly oppressed by their more civilised neighbours, the Burmese and the Shans, and their communities are widely scattered in the remoter parts of the country, and are said to

extend into Tenasserim, far down the Malay Peninsula. By the Burmese they are called also Kayans or Kyens. The Kayan seems to have entered Borneo by one of the rivers opening on the south coast, and gradually to have penetrated to the central highlands by following up the rivers, pushing out communities every few years to build new villages higher up in the course of their search for new areas adapted to their wasteful farming operations.

There can be little doubt that the Kayans and some of the other tribes of Sarawak are the descendants of emigrants from the mainland, and that they brought with them thence all or most of their characteristic culture. But from what part exactly of the mainland, and by what route they have come, and how long a time was occupied by the migrations, are questions an answer to which one could not do more than throw out vague suggestions.

For all practical purposes, the dress and adornment of all the inland tribes of Sarawak are similar ; but there is considerable scope for individual taste, and many delight in brilliantly coloured clothes and feathers. The principal article of clothing of the men is a waist-cloth of brightly coloured cloth wound several times round the loins ; and that of the women a sort of petticoat, woven by themselves in artistic designs.

The ears of the Kayan and Kenyah children are perforated, and, in the case of girls, the lobes are gradually drawn down till they form a slender loop, which sometimes reaches lower than the collar-bone. In each of the lobes several copper or brass rings hang, and on festive occasions both men and women wear as much decoration as they can conveniently carry.

When illness threatens to end mortally, the people have the idea that the soul of the sick person has

left the body, and means have to be taken to persuade the soul to return. This is effected by the aid of a professional soul-catcher.

The people recognise three kinds of spiritual powers : firstly, those thought of as dwelling in remote and vaguely conceived places and very powerful to intervene in human life. These may be considered as gods, and are subject to much awe and reverence ; secondly, the spirits of the living and deceased persons, those thought of in connection with the omen animals, and in such animals as the pig, dog, crocodile, fowl, and a few others ; thirdly, the spirits not falling under the above heading but a heterogeneous number considered to surround everything. These are sometimes propitious, sometimes malevolent, for example, the spirits which are thought to surround the captured heads hung up in the houses.

The gods are considered as presiding over the different departments of their lives.

The administrative system of Sarawak has been distinguished, not only by the rapid establishment of peace, order, and a modest prosperity with a minimum display of armed force, but especially by reason of the careful way in which the interests of the native population have consistently been made the prime object of the Government's solicitude. In 1841, from the very inception of his rule, Sir James Brooke laid down and strictly adhered to the principle of associating the natives with himself and his European assistants in the government of the country, and of respecting and maintaining whatever was not positively objectionable in the laws and customs of the people. This policy has been faithfully followed for nearly a century ; the white Rajahs, instead of imposing any system of European-made laws upon the people, as in their position of benevolent despot they might have been tempted to do, have gradually introduced improvements

when and where the defects and injustices of the system revealed themselves, and in the work both of administration and legislation, the Rajahs and their officers have always sought and enjoyed the advice and co-operation of the Malays. Three, and sometimes four, of these Malay officers, namely the Datu Bandar, Datu Imaum, and Datu Hakim, have been members of the Supreme Council since its institution in 1855. The first, the Datu Bandar, is the leading citizen of the Malay community, the Datu Imaum is the religious head of the Mohammedans, and the Datu Hakim is the principal of the Malay judges. The Supreme Council consists at present of five senior Malay and four European officers [a Chief Secretary of Sarawak was appointed by the Rajah in 1923], and the Rajah, the latter presiding over its deliberations. It embodies the absolute authority of the Rajah, and from its decrees there is no appeal.

Besides the Supreme Council, there exists a larger body, whose functions are purely advisory. It is called the Council Negri or State Council, and consists of the Rajah, the members of the Supreme Council, those district officers who are in charge of the more important centres, and the principal native officers and penghulus throughout the country, in all some seventy or eighty members. This council meets in Kuching, the capital, once every three years under the presidency of the Rajah.

The principles according to which the government has been conducted cannot be better expressed than in the following words of the late Rajah, Sir Charles Brooke, when he said that a Government such as that of Sarawak may "start from things as we find them, putting its veto on what is dangerous or unjust, and supporting what is fair and equitable in the usages of the natives, and letting system and legislation wait

on occasion." So the secret of success was found in adapting and improving all that was good in the existing usages of the natives, without indiscriminate destruction of ancient customs. When new wants are felt, the Sarawak Government, examines and provides for them by measures rather made on the spot than imported from abroad ; and, to ensure that these shall not be contrary to native customs, the consent of the people is gained for them before they are put in force.

Sarawak is perhaps unique in its position under the protection of Great Britain, in that its internal policy is framed entirely to meet the requirements of the country itself and its people. The internal policy of neighbouring countries does not affect it. It has been in the happy position of being able to select from a rigid pattern of Colonial Government (which in many ways may be necessary for the Colonies of the British Empire as a whole) just those features, and those only, which will advance the prosperity of the country and gain the good-will of the people. Those who have the interests of this country at heart trust that it may long remain under the beneficent rule of the Brooke family, for in that way the contentment of the people is assured. The heir-apparent is H. H. The Tuan-Muda, brother of the present Rajah. He has administered the country during the Rajah's absence, and while the Rajah is in Sarawak he presides over the State Advisory Council in England. Marked progressive education began some forty years ago with the gradual establishment of both Government and Missionary schools.

CHAPTER X  
BRITISH NORTH BORNEO  
BY  
AYLMER CAVENDISH PEARSON, C.M.G.,  
*Formerly Governor of British North Borneo.*

THE great pear-shaped island of Borneo, which share with New Guinea the claim to be the largest non-continental island in the world, lies across the equator in the sunny Pacific Ocean, 700 miles east from Singapore and midway between Australia and China. The stalk end of the pear, which points towards the north, contains the State of North Borneo, commonly known as British North Borneo, a territory in area some 31,000 square miles, approximately the size of Ireland or slightly larger than Tasmania or Ceylon. While the adjoining Bornean State of Sarawak has the unique distinction of being governed by an English Rajah, North Borneo can claim to be administered by practically the last of the great Chartered Companies, whose enterprise and adventure have contributed so materially towards the expansion of the British Empire in tropical climes. Under the protection of the Crown, the territory is administered as an independent State by a Court of Directors in London and by a Governor and Civil Service in Borneo. Geographically, besides its splendid harbours and its wonderful strategic position, which commands the great trade routes, the feature of the country is the huge mountains peak of Kinabalu rising majestically

to a height of 13,455 feet, a landmark for ships from afar and an object of veneration to the tribes who dwell beneath its shadow.

Half a century ago, when the pioneers of the Chartered Company first took up their task, the law of the sword and spear alone held sway. Inter-tribal warfare was a normal state of affairs, and small-pox and cholera scourged the countryside at frequent intervals. It is perhaps due to centuries of these conditions that the population stands to-day at the low figure of 257,000, or approximately eight to the square mile. Of these, about 200,000 are indigenous natives, the balance being 37,000 Chinese, and 20,000 various Malayan and other races. Europeans number some 450 only, and are mostly Government officials, planters, and merchants.

Many theories have been advanced to account for the distribution of the tribes, and the task of investigation is hindered by the entire lack of ancient buildings or idols and the absence of any written records. The native population may to-day be divided into three main groups, still distinct but tending to intermingle. In the far interior is found the Murut, or hillman, a semi-nomadic pagan tribe, wearing only the loin cloth, hunting and living mainly on the natural products of the jungle. The 1921 Census gave the number of Muruts as 37,447.

On the plains and among the foot hills dwell the Dusuns, a generic name for tribes comprising some 112,000 persons. While also pagan, they are distinctly less primitive than the Murut, and live in settled villages industriously tilling their fields.

On the coast one finds a fringe of miscellaneous seafarers, Mohammedan by religion, comprehensively known as Bajaus. Numbering about 35,000 souls, they are of pure Malay stock, but have probably inhabited North Borneo for several centuries. The

generally accepted theory is that the Murut was the earliest inhabitant of the country. A Chinese invasion, of which there are many traditions, evolved the Dusun tribes and pushed the Murut into the less accessible parts of the interior. The Dusuns, in their turn, were driven back from the coastal regions by the raiding Bajaus who settled on the shores.

The Murut still adheres to the practice of living in a communal "long house," a whole village under one roof. He is the "head hunter" popularly associated with the name of Borneo, though head-hunting is now a thing of the past. The "heads" were trophies of fallen enemies, smoked and hung among the roof-timbers of the village long-house. To obtain a "head" was the ambition of every young warrior, and indeed he could never hope to wed a village belle until he could swagger home swinging a gory trophy from his belt. These head-hunting exploits led to vendettas, and indeed to long drawn out tribal warfare. These conditions, with the ravages of small-pox and the fondness of the Murut for intoxicating rice beer, would undoubtedly have caused the extermination of the tribe in a few generations had they not come under the influence of a civilised government.

The Dusun tribes, though pagan, and intensely superstitious, are distinctly less primitive than the Muruts. They live in settled villages, and are a placid, peaceable, indeed almost bovine peasantry. There are many evidences of a Chinese admixture to be gathered from their clothing, habits, and folklore, while the squat noses and high cheekbones also suggest a Mongolian influence. The word "Dusun" means "orchard" or "garden," and well describes this agricultural race, which forms the backbone of North Borneo's native population. While the great mountain of Kinabalu is at once their "Valhalla" and their

god, they find, like other primitive people, supernatural influences in trees and animals, and even in their rice crop, which is planted and reaped with many ceremonies.

The Bajau of the coast is a very different person. Well built and often handsome, by tradition a pirate, he is vain, treacherous, and bone lazy. Yet his good points are many, for to his skill as a sailor and a horseman he adds an irresistible cheerfulness and sense of humour. The Bajau earns a casual livelihood by fishing, but likes to vary the monotony by stealing the buffaloes or cattle of the peaceful Dusun, raiding an inoffensive Chinese junk, or hunting the deer on horseback. By religion he is a Mohammedan, though a bad one, and hard work is the last thing he wishes. Only of late years has it been possible to curb his mischievous activities and induce him to live in a house instead of a boat. As a compromise he builds his house on piles over the sea, with his boat fastened to the ladder that serves him as a staircase. For generations his superior wit and acumen have enabled him to dominate and practically make a living out of the slow-brained Dusun, and probably of all the races of North Borneo the Bajau alone has real cause to sigh for the "good old days," and to regret the coming of the white man.

In describing the native races of North Borneo, it may be as well to state that the fabled tribe of men with tails has been proved beyond all reasonable doubt to be a fable and no more. The story probably originated from the Murut fashion of wearing the end of their loin cloth hanging loose behind, and early travellers, judging from fleeting glimpses of these timid folk flitting among the trees, jumped to the conclusion that they had seen tailed men.

A final word to dissipate another popular fallacy. "The wild man of Borneo," famous in song and village

fairs, is none other than our old friend the Orang-outang. This name comprises two Malay words—"orang" and man, and "outang" or "utan" meaning wild or pertaining to the jungle. The nearest human approach to the "wild man" is perhaps the Murut of the hills, but he is not, and never has been, a cannibal, and so far from being "wild" or warlike he is a timid, peaceful creature, whose propensity for head-hunting is, or rather was, prompted by motives no less noble than those of the stamp collector, or of the love-lorn youth of England who exhibits with pride to his inamorata a shining row of trophies won for tennis, golf, or rowing.



AUSTRALIA



## CHAPTER XI

### THE ABORIGINES OF AUSTRALIA

BY

SIR GEORGE LE HUNTE, G.C.M.G.,  
*Formerly Governor of South Australia and Lieut.-Governor  
of New Guinea*

#### TWO PICTURES

IT is hardly stretching imagination or straining facts to say that the aborigines of Australia are among the oldest inhabitants of what geologists tell us is the oldest part of this globe. Professor Baldwin Spencer, Professor of Biology at Melbourne University, says, "It is probable that with the exception of one or two isolated groups, they represent the most backward race extant, and in many respects reveal the conditions under which the early ancestors of the present human races existed."

When there was no Bass's Strait and Tasmania was part of the Continent of Australia, a "nigritto" race spread over Malaysia and Australia. Though there has been touch with the Malay races and Papua in the northern extremities, there is no evidence of Malay or Papua or Africa in their language. They lived under different conditions from other continents. They had huge, inoffensive quadrupeds, fossils or representations of which are in Australian museums, and giant kangaroos, which, as Professor Spencer says, "were quite as anxious to get away from them as they were to capture and eat them. They had no

dangerous animals or suitable for domestication ; probably the aboriginal would have done nothing with them : he used grass seeds for cakes but never planted anything to ensure him a safe food supply ; he thought a plant reached its maturity by his magic. He never had a superior race to contend with, and developed along his own lines without the impetus of competition."

He was a pure nomad, a hunter with an extraordinary keen sight and power of observation. "The whole surface of the ground is an open book which they read without hesitation and without even making a mistake. No animal or reptile can pass without leaving traces whereby the native knows what he is, how fast he was travelling, how long ago he passed, and whether he was fresh or tired." (Bishop Gilbert White, formerly Bishop of Carpentaria, *Thirty Years of Work in Tropical Australia*.)

They make excellent stockmen, and many a criminal has been brought to justice by the "black trackers" of the Mounted Police.

In physique he is strong with good muscular development. Some of the men, especially in the northern tribes, are very tall. Bishop Gilbert White says that he saw on the Mitchell River a man who was over seven feet in height and well made in proportion. He had a brother, who had been killed, who was said to have been of equal size. The average height is about 5 feet 8 inches. The hands are small, the hair wavy to frizzy.

They have an elaborate tribal organisation. Totemism, its origin unknown, permeates their social conditions, their ceremonials, and their magic. They believe in reincarnation, "spirit children," and superior beings. Death is always the result of magic. Their mourning ceremonies are very elaborate. A dead body is generally wrapped in bark and laid on a

platform of sticks at some height above the ground. Their weapons and implements are those of a most primitive race: stone axes and knives; stones for grinding and pounding and for sinkers for nets; wooden clubs, spears, and "spear-throwers"; the "woomera," a stick with a notch at one end in which the shaft of a spear fits. When the arm is extended backwards the "throwing-stick" nearly doubles the length of the arm and gives it a tremendous impulse. Bishop Gilbert White mentions having seen a wooden spear thrown clean through the centre of a pandanus (screw-pine) tree six inches in diameter at a distance of sixty yards, and projected three inches on the other side. "In the days of the Romans when spear-throwing decided battles, a detachment of Australian javelin throwers with "woomera" would have created a panic among the enemy. Their accuracy of aim is as remarkable as their range. I have seen a native aim at a bird on wing and bring it down pierced clean through the body."

Captain Cook in his journal of his First Voyage to Australia in H.M.S. *Endeavour*, 1768, when he beached his ship at what is now Cooktown in North Queensland says: "The natives being now familiar with the ship's crew, one of them was desired to throw his lance, which he did with such dexterity and force, that though it was not above four feet from the ground, at the highest, it penetrated deeply into a tree at the distance of fifty yards."

Wooden shields and the curved "boomerang," which might well have been the production of a highly-skilled craftsman of a modern race. These vary with the different purposes for which they are required. They are not all of the kind that comes back to the thrower, which is only used for amusement. It is a most fascinating sight to watch—as at some special display—numbers of these last kind

thrown far and high into the air, circling, twisting, turning like a flock of pigeons, never colliding or in each other's way, and gracefully returning to their starting points.

They are very clever at string and basket work: the string made of human hair, fur, or shredded bark or leaves. They make baskets, bags, fishing nets, fish traps, etc. Dr. Roth, at one time Northern Protector in Queensland and now in the Government Service of British Guiana, in his very interesting reports (1901-1905) to the Queensland Government, gives very detailed drawings of the various manipulations of their string and basket work. He is doing similar work now among the Indians of British Guiana.

The aborigines in the wild state wear usually no clothing. In some parts they make cloaks of bark on skins or short skin aprons. Sometimes a simple string suffices for a dress suit for both sexes. "During the wet season the natives of the Mitchell River build themselves little platforms of saplings about four feet from the ground. On this the man curls himself up to sleep at night, sometimes making a roof of a curved piece of bark. He makes his unfortunate wife sit on the ground underneath him all night and keep a small fire going in order that the smoke may drive away the mosquitoes. He also takes the precaution of taking to bed with him a heavy club, and if she should go to sleep and let the fire out he hits her on the head with the club as a gentle hint to wake up and attend to her wifely duties."—(Bishop Gilbert White.)

They have little decorative art. They draw rough figures representing human beings or animals on bark or stone or paint them on their bodies. Their choice of colours is limited to red or yellow ochre and white pipeclay. Some of their sacred or ceremonial designs are crudely elaborate.

Inter-tribal warfare has its place in aboriginal history.

The above is a rough outline of the aboriginal in his native state. Those who wish to see the finished picture in all its details will find it in the works of Professor Baldwin Spencer and the late Mr. Gillen of South Australia, the illustrated reports of Dr. Roth referred to above, and *Anthropological Notes* by Dr. Herbert Basedow, South Australian Government North-West Prospecting Expedition, 1903.

When the Europeans first came to Australia and Tasmania there must have been a very large aboriginal population. As settlements spread and the bush land was converted into cattle and sheep runs, the aboriginal was driven back.

It is not necessary here to tell the story, some of it is not pleasant reading. There were faults on both sides. It is happier to recognise now what is being done to-day by the Governments of the Commonwealth and the States and the Church Missions of the different denominations, for the care and civilisation of what remains of that wild ancient race.

From what can be gathered from descriptions of the now vanished race of Tasmanian aborigines, and from drawings or photographs, they seem to have been of a much more pronounced negroid type than the Australian. It does not seem probable that from the landing of the Europeans there, their number ever at one time much exceeded five or six hundred. The deadly feuds between them and the settlers between 1825 and 1830 led the Government in 1831 to remove them to Flinders' Island, the largest (forty by twenty-five miles) of the islands off the north-east corner of Tasmania between Banks and Bass's Straits, where, in spite of the care of the Government, they rapidly decreased. Mr. J. B.

Walker, who visited them in 1832, says, "For fifteen years Flinders was the home of the miserable remnant of the native tribes of Tasmania, and for the greater part of them it was destined to become their grave."

In 1838 the aborigines on Flinders petitioned to be removed to Port Phillip (Victoria), but the authorities in England interposed and forbade the removal. In 1847 there remained only 44, 12 men, 22 women, and 10 children, some of these last being half-castes. The last man died in 1865 and only four women remained. The last survivor of her race died in 1877.

#### SOUTH AUSTRALIA

In South Australia there are still between three and four thousand aborigines, exclusive of about a thousand half-castes.

As the Chief Protector says in his latest Report (June, 1922), the problem of how to transform them into a useful race, able to maintain themselves, is a very difficult and serious one. The only way, he believes, is to start with the children; and, after sufficient education, to place them out in employment and keep them under supervision and see that they are properly treated; and he advises that they should be placed near enough to associate with each other in different centres and avoid the depression of isolation.

The South Australian Government has two aboriginal stations, one at Point Pearce (Port Victoria) on the south coast, where they have a farm on the share and farming system. They have about 5000 sheep, besides horses, cattle, and pigs. The wool clip was over 100 bales, and the wheat and other grain crops gave a total of between nineteen and twenty thousand bushels.

The other station is at Point McLeay, on the large

lake, near the mouth of the Murray River, where there is a dairy farm, and the protector mentions a very successful milking machine which, attended by a girl and two boys, saves the work of seven hands.

An inspection of the Balance Sheets of the two stations shows that their net cost brought to date has been over £92,000.

The net cost of the Aboriginal Department for the year 1921-22 was nearly £9000. These figures are given, and elsewhere, not for the purpose of loading this chapter with statistics, but to show what the Australian Governments are doing for their aborigines, and what the aborigines are doing for themselves under their fostering care.

The Lutheran Mission have a station with about two hundred aborigines. They cropped 2850 acres.

#### WESTERN AUSTRALIA

The aboriginal population in touch with civilisation is estimated at between eleven and twelve thousand, an increase of over eleven hundred on the previous year. The estimated number in the northern "unsettled area" of the state is ten thousand, giving an estimated total of nearly twenty-two thousand.

The Government has seventeen stations. The Chief Protector reports that their condition is generally good; employment plentiful, and treatment by employers satisfactory.

The Government affords medical treatment of diseases and a special campaign against hookworm is financed by the Commonwealth Government in conjunction with the International Health Board of the Rockefeller Foundation, which, with improved sanitary conditions, gives every hope of the disease being stamped out in the areas under control.

There are twenty-three rationing stations—four of

them being mission stations—where food, clothing, blankets, tobacco, medicines, and medical attendance are afforded to the aborigines. The total cost of relief for the year 1921-22 was nearly £4000.

The Government has an Aboriginal Cattle Station in the East Kimberley District. The receipt from cattle sales in 1919-20 amounted to £5600. They fell considerably in 1921-22 owing to the delay in shipping the cattle to the southern ports and losing the best time for markets. Stud cattle are sent to Queensland and the tannery shows a profit, the station cattle being in increasing demand.

The reports from the Mission Stations were satisfactory.

In the crime statistics it is encouraging to note on the one hand a substantial decrease in cattle-killing and stealing, but, on the other hand, convictions for drunkenness and receiving liquor show an increase. Supplying liquor to aborigines is a criminal offence, punishable with fine and imprisonment. The fines in 1921-22 varied from £1 to £100.

#### THE NORTHERN TERRITORY

Very little about the aborigines in the Northern Territory, now administered by the Commonwealth Government, is to be found in the official reports of recent date; but it is stated that the aboriginal population is decreasing in the settled districts. When the territory was part of South Australia it was estimated at between twenty and twenty-two thousand; a very small fraction are under any control or in contact with Government or any form of civilisation, and very little is known of the large black population in the north-east and the interior. Except those employed on cattle stations very few do continuous work. They hang about the townships and camps

—not allowed by the Queensland Government—and the havoc done by opium supplies is incalculable.

Some of the aborigines in the territory are very fine, and there is a good field for a development of effort in their behalf.

#### QUEENSLAND AND THE TORRES STRAITS ISLANDS

Queensland takes the lead in its organised care and oversight of its aborigines, and in stimulating them to use their opportunities for their own as well as other people's benefit. The estimated aboriginal population is seventeen thousand, including nearly three thousand in the Torres Straits Islands, which form a line from Cape York Peninsula to practically the shores of Papua (formerly British New Guinea). There are three Government settlements, with a population of fifteen hundred, two of them are stock stations, and in the third, at Palm Island to the north of Cleveland Bay, a busy sawmill is at work. At another a Mounted Infantry Squad has been formed under a returned soldier, and the men, all of whom ride their own horses, are very keen. The mainland aborigines, except on the coast, are not so much in touch with the outside world as those of the islands, but many of them take work under contract, or in casual employment, with the station owners—they make excellent stockmen. Others join the pearl fishing boats. In 1922 over two thousand five hundred were under contract agreements, nearly nine hundred in casual employment, and over three hundred on boats. The wages earned on boats amounted to over £3700, of which nearly £1600 was the share of the mainland aborigines. The islanders have a fleet of pearl fishing boats called "The Tribal Company's" boats, on which 240 men earned last year nearly £10,000, and that was a decrease of £3000 on the previous year owing to unfavourable weather,

and the fall in the prices of pearl shell and "Bêche de Mer," a curious sort of large sea slug, which, when cut open and smoked or dried, is largely consumed in China. "Bêche de Mer" soup is uncommonly good.

The total amount of wages deposited with the Government, under a Compulsory Law, which requires about half of the wages earned to be banked, was over £52,000, on which interest to over £5000 was gained, and this in a bad year: owing to drought and a slump in the cattle trade and the fall in fishing prices there was a loss of 32 per cent. of the wages earned or £30,000, and a consequent decrease in their savings bank deposits of £23,000. The withdrawals for the aborigines' benefit were £57,500, and the balance to credit was £190,000. The Chief Protector in his report for the previous year, 1921, says, "If ever a comprehensive scheme for the betterment of the race is undertaken, the foresight which built up their nest-egg for them will be acclaimed by many more than at present condemn it." Figures like these show what a well carried out policy can do for these people, and are worth recording.

The Government has also an "Aboriginal Provident Fund," started in 1919 for special relief. The contributions amounted to £2500 and the credit balance is over £8000. Medical relief is given, and there is a travelling Government doctor. Like Western Australia, they and the Rockefeller Foundation are fighting a campaign against disease. Relief in rations, tobacco, blankets, clothing, and fishing gear was distributed in 1922 from twenty-seven centres at a cost of over £2000. At each of the Government settlements there is a retail store for the aborigines, which, to quote from the Chief Inspector's report, "plays an important part in relief and protective operations. Besides ensuring supervision in the trading of the inmates, they provide a convenient and healthy channel for

the cash brought into camps, and in addition make it possible to obtain clothing for the indigent." The total business done last year from cash and bank orders was over £9500, and free issues over £600, making a total of over £10,000.

The Queensland Government has an auxiliary patrol vessel which last year patrolled nearly 3000 miles carrying Protectors on duty. The master gives very valuable assistance in supervising the building, repairing and refitting of native fishing vessels.

The total expenditure of the department was over £41,000 and the total collection of wages, earnings, and sales was over £88,000.

Queensland is indeed shouldering its share of the "White Man's Burden," and truly endeavouring to do its best now for its aborigines.

The Church is not behind. There are ten active mission stations, affording education, ordinary, industrial and agricultural, as well as religious training. The Anglican Mission in the Torres Straits Islands is making very satisfactory progress. There is a training college for native missionaries on one of the islands. The islanders build their own churches, and contribute to the expenses of their ministration. The Chief Protector reports "a distinct advance is noticed in the spiritual life of the people." The Bishop of Carpentaria, whose headquarters are at Thursday Island in the straits, has the oversight of the mission in the islands and on the mainland—a vast diocese reaching beyond the Gulf of Carpentaria and across the Northern Territory. He has to combine with his episcopal duties those of a bushman, a sailor, a horseman, a motor driver and a motor mechanic, and no roads, and settlements or stations few and far between.

"Missionary effort amongst the aborigines has been very largely successful, and where missionary influence extends, it has, to some extent at any rate,

arrested that 'fading away' which attacks races like the aborigines when they come in contact with civilisation."—(Bishop Gilbert White.)

Such are the two pictures presented in this short sketch. The Australian Aboriginal in his wild, native, undeveloped state, and what he is capable of when brought into contact with religious and administrative civilisation. The following quotation from the last report of the Chief Protector of Queensland is a fitting conclusion :—

"It is not inevitable that they should die out. The evidence does not support such a conclusion sufficiently to justify treating their case with indifference. Their progress on the road to extinction has been rapid in the past because the belief that it was useless trying to save them has been made the excuse for indifference to their fate. It has been demonstrated beyond dispute that, placed in conditions where they are afforded protection, and given a reasonable chance of self-support, they can readily adapt themselves to better social conditions and be trained towards a partial if not complete self-dependence."

The interests of the aborigines are represented in the Australian Legislature by the minister responsible for Aboriginal Protection Department.

The aborigines have no "land rights," but reserves are protected by legislation.

My grateful acknowledgments are due to the Agents-General for South Australia, Western Australia, and Queensland for kindly allowing me the assistance of their Departmental Reports.

CHAPTER XII  
PAPUA  
THE NATIVE RACES OF PAPUA

BY

CAPTAIN F. R. BARTON, C.M.G.,

*Formerly Lieutenant-Governor of Papua.*

IN describing the measures taken to civilise the native races of that part of the island of New Guinea within the jurisdiction of the Australian Commonwealth, distinction should be made between those races who inhabit the south-eastern portion of the island, now known as "Papua," and those who inhabit the north-eastern part of the island, formerly German New Guinea, now called "The Territory of New Guinea." The former of these geographical areas, Papua, was proclaimed a British Protectorate in 1884, and the policy of the administration in native affairs has, generally speaking, since that time developed along a definite line of policy which was laid down at the time of annexation. The Territory of New Guinea, on the other hand, was originally a German Protectorate, and was allocated to the Commonwealth of Australia after its capture from Germany in 1914, and is now administered by Officers of the Commonwealth under a mandate issued by the Council of the League of Nations in 1920. The policy and original laws appertaining to the natives of this region were therefore framed on the German model, and the

development of that policy has necessarily received a check by the change of administrative methods. In these circumstances it will be best to confine our attention to the natives of Papua, and to the means taken there to civilise them.

After remaining a protectorate for four years, the territory of Papua was annexed to the Crown in 1888 by the then newly-appointed administrator, Dr. (afterwards Sir William) MacGregor. The new colony was fortunate in obtaining the services of so wise and right-minded a Governor to lay the foundations of its native policy. MacGregor had been for years in the administrative service of Fiji before his appointment to New Guinea. He had taken careful note of the physical and psychological effects of Western civilisation upon the Melanesian and Polynesian races in the Pacific, and he was able, therefore, to profit by the mistakes which had been made elsewhere, and to frame restrictive laws for the protection of the natives from Western vices and diseases, as well as laws carefully framed to protect them from unprincipled white men.

It was part of MacGregor's policy to delay exploitation of the new colony by white settlers and adventurers until the handful of officers, who for many years composed his administrative staff, had made themselves acquainted with the ways, customs, and languages of the numerous tribes, and had secured their confidence. He had witnessed the debilitating effect produced upon the natives of the South Seas by administrative *laissez faire* methods when they come in contact with Europeans. He knew that if this blight were to fall upon the natives of Papua they would inevitably die out, and with their disappearance one of the young colony's potentially most valuable assets would be lost. Patience, courage, firmness, and sympathy were the

qualities most required to win the confidence of these wild, warlike tribes ; and the treatment most to be avoided was that of hustle. If the resources of the country were to be successfully developed it was necessary that the natives should themselves co-operate in its development, and in order to render them fit for this purpose it was essential that the administration should be given ample time. To go slow was, in brief, the foundation of the early policy in dealing with the native tribes.

The principal laws originally made in the natives' interests were : (1) an ordinance to prohibit the sale or gift to a native of alcoholic liquor ; (2) an ordinance prohibiting the use, except under official permit, of firearms by natives ; (3) an ordinance safeguarding their ownership of land ; (4) an ordinance to regulate native labour contracts.

The first of these restrictive laws has worked very well down to the present day, and the administration has met with but little trouble in enforcing it. As is well known, if primitive natives are once permitted to acquire the habit of drinking spirits, it is practically impossible to eradicate it. The white population of Papua, through whom alone it would be possible for the natives to obtain alcoholic liquor, knowing that it was in their own interests as well as that of the natives to prevent them from obtaining it, have carefully observed the law. To some extent too, perhaps, the danger has been minimised by the fact that the natives have their own form of stimulant—a comparatively harmless one—derived by chewing betel.

Equal success has, for the same reason, been obtained in enforcing the Firearms Act. The chief weapons of the natives are the spear and the bow and arrow. These are comparatively harmless weapons when opposed by firearms ; though deadly enough when

opposed to each other. The danger of permitting natives in a low state of culture to possess firearms is sufficiently demonstrated by the havoc wrought in the Solomon Islands, where, in former days, rifles were freely bartered to the natives by unprincipled traders.

When the territory was proclaimed a Protectorate in 1884 by Admiral Erskine, he supplemented the formal announcement by a speech in which he gave the natives an assurance that their lands would not be forcibly taken from them by white men. The tenour of this assurance has been maintained in the several land ordinances which have been passed to meet the developing needs of the country. The guiding principle of the protective clauses in these land laws has been that no native-owned land can be alienated unless the transfer is sanctioned by the Executive Council of the Government. No direct purchases of land by outsiders from native owners are permitted. A person wishing to acquire a certain piece of land must make application to the Government. If, upon inquiry, there is found to be no objection to the transfer, the land is bought from the owner by the Government, by whom it is then made over to the applicant. The greater part of the land owned by the Government is land which, having been found to be ownerless, has therefore been proclaimed waste and vacant.

The administration of the progressive Labour Ordinances passed from time to time has been less easy than that of the three other measures cited, and particularly so on the goldfields of the mainland. The alluvial goldfield in the hinterland of the north-east coast covers a large area. The district is extremely unhealthy, and the local population were for many years hostile and truculent, and refused to work for the miners. It therefore became necessary for the

miners to obtain their labour elsewhere, and this led to a practice of labour-recruiting by licensed recruiters in the more settled areas of the country. The gold-field soon acquired a bad reputation, and the natives of the islands and south coast became more and more reluctant to offer their services. The work demanded of them was extremely arduous consisting, for the most part, of carrying heavy packs from the coast or river depots across difficult country to the foothills of the Main Range, a distance averaging some thirty to fifty miles. Numbers died of dysentery and beri beri, some were ambushed and killed by the hostile inhabitants, and those who, in a state of panic, deserted from their employers, were almost invariably caught, killed, and eaten before they could reach protection. As a consequence, labour became scarce, and heavy premiums were paid to the recruiters for carriers. Although all natives picked up for the work were, under law, taken by the recruiters before the administrative officer in charge of the district in which they were recruited, and were by him approved and indentured, so that every precaution should be taken to protect the natives' interests, it became impossible to supervise them efficiently when they were transferred to their widely scattered employers on the goldfield.

For agricultural work there has been less trouble in obtaining native labour. Large numbers of men are now recruited for this purpose from the wild, turbulent tribes inhabiting the lower reaches of the rivers that flow into the Papuan Gulf.

The estimated population of Papua is 235,000. The natives belong to three races: (1) Papuans, who inhabit most of the interior and the south coast west of longitude  $146^{\circ}$ , and the north coast from the Gira River to Cape Vogel; (2) the tribes of Melanesian origin who populate the south coast east of longitude

146°, as well as the multitudinous islands and archipelagoes within the Papuan jurisdiction, extending a farther 250 miles to the south and south-east; (3) scattered communities of a race of dark-skinned dwarf people of negroid type, whose villages are always situated in the interior—generally in the most inaccessible parts of the mountains.

It is believed that the dwarf negroid natives of the present day are a remnant of the original inhabitants of Papua. Whether the Papuans themselves are aborigines, and if not, where they came from, are still speculative questions. To a large extent the negroids and Papuans have interbred, but only in the interior districts; never with the coast-dwelling Papuan tribes. There is no trace of interbreeding of the negroids and Melanesians.

The Melanesians of South-Eastern New Guinea are descended from one or more of the migratory swarms of that race who, from their starting points in Indonesia, ages ago, swept successively eastward in their canoe fleets along the northern shores of the island, some of whom reached and populated islands in the Pacific, while others occupied the shores and islands of Papua. Generally speaking, wherever the coast of South-Eastern New Guinea is low and swampy and the sea discoloured, it is inhabited by Papuans, while the hilly parts of the coast with its fringing reefs and clear water is peopled by Melanesians.

The Papuan of the Papuan Gulf district is a tall, lithe, muscular creature with a skin of a dark *café noir* shade. He is somewhat morose of temperament; revengeful; and hag-ridden with ugly superstitions. They are not an attractive people, and their unattractiveness is emphasised by the low-lying, swampy nature of the ground which they inhabit.

The Melanesian tribes of the eastern end of the island are short, compact, agile people, with light

brown skins. For the most part they are people of cheerful temperament. Having been in contact with Europeans for a longer time than Western Papuans, they have to a large extent assimilated European culture, and their lives are consequently less overshadowed with that dread of witchcraft which is the worst and most persistent feature of the mind of primitive man.

Between these two extremes of type—the Gulf Papuan and the Eastern Melanesians—are other tribes; the Motuans of the Port Moresby district, and others to the east and west of them, known to ethnologists as the Western Papuan Melanesians. These people stand in all respects—physical, temperamental, and shade of skin colour—midway between the Papuans and the Melanesians.

One of the most characteristic physical features of the people of Melanesian origin is the peculiar texture of their hair, and their manner of combing it into the shape of a new mop. The coast-dwelling Papuans wear their hair much shorter; and some of the Papuan bush tribes let it grow long and weave it into tails, each tail being woven round and round with a long strip of bark, and the whole bunch of tails tied together and hanging as low down as the small of the back. Occasionally one comes across men and women of the Western Papuan Melanesian tribes whose hair is of so wavy or almost straight a texture that they are unable to comb it into the conventional shape.

The style of dress—especially that of the men—is scanty enough to cause embarrassment to the eyes of European newcomers, though, in the vicinity of European settlements, the natives have taken during recent years to wearing cloth and cotton clothing, and the custom is spreading farther afield. It is much to be feared, however, that this surrender to European ideas of propriety is causing widespread harm, for

the reason that their European clothing being very much limited in quantity is almost always dirty and consequently serves as a medium for spreading infectious diseases.

In the early days of the Administration some of the tribes were found to be addicted to cannibalism, but the comparative ease with which this custom was eradicated indicates that the natives who practised it did so with an uneasy conscience. Contrary to what might be expected, the Melanesian tribes of the south-east end of Papua—people who were probably the most advanced in culture in pre-Protectorate days—were the worst and most persistent offenders in this respect. It is worthy of note that those tribes who were not cannibalistic regarded the practice with as great abhorrence as we ourselves do.

The natives are all agriculturists. The work of clearing the site selected for a garden is done by the men. This often involves very heavy work, such as the felling and burning of huge trees, for the natives of New Guinea seldom cultivate the same piece of ground for more than two seasons in succession. As soon as the men have done their part the women take the garden over, and the planting and subsequent cultivation and harvesting are all performed by them. Plantains, sugar-cane, bananas, yams, taro, sweet potatoes, and manioc are the vegetables chiefly grown. While the women are attending to the gardens, the men are employed in fishing and hunting. During the greater part of the day, therefore, the villages are emptied of the active men and women, the place being left to the old and infirm and the children, upon whom it devolves to keep the house fires alight, and bring water from the spring or river. Towards sunset the women return from the gardens loaded with firewood and vegetables, and the men from their canoes or from the jungle with such fish or game as they have

been able to capture. It then devolves upon the women to cook the evening meal. Meanwhile, the others sit about in groups discussing the day's events, while the children of each group keep on rolling cigarettes in dry banana leaf coverings, and fitting these into the peculiar Papuan bamboo tobacco pipes, which they light and then pass to their elders ; each man, woman, and child in turn sucking in a mouthful of smoke and deeply inhaling it. Papuan children are allowed much freedom by their parents. It is seldom that one hears a harsh word spoken to them. The younger children spend most of their time in playing games, of which there are many, some being very similar to games played by European children, such as Tom Tiddler's ground. They are adepts at cat's cradle, played singly or by two children. A single child will go on evolving one pattern after another for an hour or more, controlling the intricate movements of the thread with fingers, toes, and teeth. As they grow older the girls help their mothers in the gardens and the boys accompany their fathers to be instructed by them in the crafts of fishing and hunting. Soon after they have reached adolescence, the youths and maidens do nothing all day long but loll about the villages idle, their bodies oiled, scented with herbs, and decorated with the family heirlooms of dogs' teeth necklaces, nose-sticks, shell bracelets, etc. Particular attention is given to combing and dressing the hair during this time. Courtship is not practised openly but by stealth, and though the greatest sexual latitude is sanctioned by native convention at this period of their lives, it is an extremely rare thing for untoward results to follow. Betrothal occurs as soon as a boy and girl who have been enjoying unwedded happiness consider it well to get married, and the fact is thereupon announced to the relatives. The marriage is formally consummated in the house of

the bride's parents, but before dawn the pair decamp to the bridegroom's house, which is usually that of his father. Marriage brings with it a metamorphosis in the life of the woman. Her hair is cut short, her ornaments are put away, her coquettish manners are abandoned, and she becomes a drudge for the remainder of her days.

Having regard to the backwardness of the natives and their inherently savage dispositions, the task of the Administration to bring them under control has been easier than might be thought. One of the difficulties the Administration has been faced with is the fact that very few of the tribes have dominant chiefs. It is true, however, that in the early days of the Protectorate this may have been an advantage in as much as in the absence of powerful chiefs there was less chance of hostile tribes combining to dispute the Government's authority. Generally speaking, the affairs of the tribes are decided by the male elders in council ; though in times of warfare the authority of a fighting chief is recognised, the man selected for the purpose being, as a rule, chosen for his prowess and skill at arms. Perhaps the nearest approach to hereditary chiefs are the men accredited with the power of sorcery. The craft practised by these men is handed down from father to son. The sorcerers of New Guinea have ever been a bane to those whose office it is to uplift the subject races there—whether Government officers or missionaries. It is not the fault of the sorcerer that he stands in the way. He cannot throw off his mantle even if he would, for in the eyes of his tribe he is possessed of powers for good and evil which he has inherited. It is the curious though common belief in New Guinea when a person dies of disease (unless the individual who dies be old and infirm or quite young) that death is due to the malevolent influence of some other person, and that such influence

has been exercised through the medium of a sorcerer belonging to another tribe or community. The natives are unable to conceive the possibility of disease and death being due to natural causes. This queer notion would not so much matter if it ended there, but to complicate things (so far as the Administration is concerned), it is by native convention incumbent on the relatives, when such a death occurs, to avenge it, on the principle of an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth ; and in order to find out who the offending individual is, the relatives consult the sorcerer belonging to their own community. The result is endless vendettas on the native side, and, on that of the Administration, the arduous necessity of endeavouring to trace the murderers. To effect this is no easy task, for where the influence of a sorcerer comes into play in cases of crime, it is almost impossible to induce natives to tell the truth ; so terrified are they that the implicated sorcerer will cast an evil spell upon them. The Government accordingly endeavoured to root out the evil by making it a penal offence for any one to practise sorcery—a measure which met with scant success. In view of the fact that the belief in sorcery is so deeply embedded in the native mind, its eradication can only result from the gradual and cumulative effect of education. The question is made more difficult owing to the fact that sorcerers are supposed to be imbued with beneficent as well as malevolent powers. The writer of these words recollects having had a long and interesting conversation some years ago with a highly potent sorcerer in the Mekeo district of Papua. This man, who was an unusually intelligent person, was accused by some natives of having exercised his black arts to bring about the deaths of several people in a neighbouring village. In course of a friendly conversation with him he, after frankly admitting that he was a sorcerer, as his father and forbears had

been before him, and after relating his own version of the matter of which he stood accused, summed up his position as follows : " If a person of my community is ill, his relatives send for me to heal him. If I refuse to go, and so obey the order of the Government, and the person dies, his relatives say I wilfully caused their kinsman's death, and they will then conspire to do violence to me ; but if I go to the sick person, his relatives insist on paying me, for they do not believe I can heal him unless I receive payment, and then the taking of payment is brought up as evidence against me that I have practised sorcery. Whichever course I take, therefore, I am bound to be put in the wrong."

In the absence of tribal chiefs it became necessary, so as to have a complete chain of administrative responsibility, to create some system which would serve the purpose. This has been achieved with considerable success by appointing " Village Constables." In the cases of those tribes who have newly come under submission, the men selected for these appointments are usually individuals who have shown some degree of authority in their communities. During the early days of the administration these individuals happened frequently to be men who had taken life in native warfare or at the instigation of a sorcerer, for which crime they had been captured, tried, and imprisoned in one of the principal jails. During their imprisonment they learnt something of the aims of the Government and acquired an oral knowledge of the Motu dialect—the dialect adopted as the *lingua franca* of the country, for the dialects spoken in New Guinea are many and various. When the homicide's term of imprisonment was completed, he was escorted back to his village, and through him friendly relations were established with his tribe. If he was intelligent and willing, he was thereupon, in the presence of his fellow villagers, appointed Village Constable for his

community, and provided with the uniform and badge of his office. These men have generally proved loyal to the Government, and being in a position, owing to their former contact with Europeans, to explain to their savage fellow tribesmen the ways of the Government, and to convince them that its intentions are benevolent, it has been mainly through this means that the influence of the Government has been extended to the out districts. In making these appointments care has been taken, of course, not to select sorcerers.

The education of native children is left to the Missionary Societies of Papua, of whom there are four—three Protestant and one Roman Catholic mission—each working within appointed boundaries. These religious bodies have done good work. With the exception of the Roman Catholics, the school classes are generally taken by Polynesian and Melanesian teachers—men who have volunteered for the work at the stations of the respective missionary societies in the island groups of the Southern Pacific, where they are given a special training for the purpose. In the district allotted to the Roman Catholic Mission, school education is given personally by the European fathers, lay brothers, and sisters who have devoted their lives to that end. In recent years an offshoot of the London Missionary Society—the oldest established mission in Papua—has established a technical training college near Samarai for native youths of the south-eastern end of the colony. There they are taught by European teachers the arts of agriculture, boat-building, carpentering, smithy work, etc. This commendable undertaking, which is partly supported by a grant voted by the Government of Papua, has proved a great success, and it is a pity that capital is not available to found other such institutions in Papua, for in the absence of technical schools the natives are deprived of the means of applying the

knowledge gained at the mission schools to practical ends. It was hoped by the founders of the technical training school above mentioned that after a short time it would become self-supporting, but the universal rise, since the termination of the war, in the cost of living, coupled with a fall in the price of copra (the chief produce from the agricultural land leased by the college) has upset the original calculations, and there is grave danger, unless financial help is soon forthcoming from overseas, that the good work will come to an end. Experience of the effects of Western civilisation upon native races in other parts of the Pacific—races whose descent is analogous to that of the Melanesians in New Guinea—has demonstrated that unless outlets are provided for their energies of a more enlivening kind than the humdrum existence of a common labourer, they will inevitably become dispirited and eventually perish of ennui. The visible effect of the break-up of their social systems, and forcible stoppage of many of their cherished savage pursuits, is a pronounced loss of vitality. Those who have studied the Papuan most thoroughly and sympathetically are of the opinion that his race may yet be saved from extinction provided he is given scope and opportunity to adapt himself to the new conditions. Nothing is so likely to achieve this end as properly supervised technical education.

NEW ZEALAND



## CHAPTER XIII

### THE MAORI OF NEW ZEALAND

BY

SIR GODFREY LAGDEN, K.C.M.G.

OUR first knowledge of the early inhabitants of New Zealand is derived from Dutch history, from which it appears that one of their intrepid navigators named Abel Janszoon Tasman first discovered the islands of which it consists in 1642, but made no effective landing on account of the hostile attitude of the natives whom he described as Indians, and who, amongst other barbarous acts, treacherously murdered a boat's crew sent ashore to parley.

For the next 120 years it was more or less neglected until the explorations of the celebrated Captain Cook, which extended over several voyages. In 1769 he landed, near the present port of Gisborne, at Poverty Bay, so called because of the difficulty of getting water and provisions, and, hoisting the Union Jack, took possession on behalf of the King of England. At that very date it happened that a French vessel, the *Saint Jean Baptiste*, was at anchor at Mangonui, the commander having already made charts of the locality and drawings of the native inhabitants, of whom an interesting description was recorded in his *Journal* found at Paris in later years. We do not know, however, by what chance it was that possession fell so peaceably to England instead of France.

Cook paid subsequent visits; but for many years

to follow the islands served as the rallying ground for gangs of adventurous traders and sailors engaged in the whaling and sealing fisheries, whose romantic stories, if we knew them, would fill pages of wild revels and tragedies amongst themselves, and bloody conflicts with the savage islanders then in occupation.

The first real touch we get with the land and its native people is associated with the name of the Rev. Samuel Marsden, of the Church Missionary Society, who in 1809 came into friendly converse with the Maori chief Ruatara, with the result that in December, 1814, he and others landed at the Bay of Islands, and a monument marks the spot where the first Christian service was held.

It was not, however, until 1840, after the country had fallen into great confusion, that the memorable Treaty of Waitangi was negotiated between the natives and Captain Hobson, the first Lieutenant-Governor, and the Queen's Sovereignty proclaimed. It was signed by no less than 512 of the principal chiefs, showing how numerous were the clans into which they were then divided. The treaty itself was a model of simplicity, consisting of only three articles, and is of so interesting a character that it is produced in full as taken from the facsimile to be found in the Library of the Royal Colonial Institute.

#### TREATY OF WAITANGI

Her Majesty Victoria, Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, regarding with Her Royal Favor the Native Chiefs and Tribes of New Zealand, and anxious to protect their just Rights and Property, and to secure to them the enjoyment of Peace and Good Order, has deemed it necessary, in consequence of the great number of Her Majesty's

Subjects who have already settled in New Zealand, and the rapid extension of Emigration both from Europe and Australia which is still in progress, to constitute and appoint a functionary properly authorised to treat with the Aborigines of New Zealand for the recognition of Her Majesty's Sovereign authority, over the whole or any part of those islands. Her Majesty, therefore, being desirous to establish a settled form of Civil Government with a view to avert the evil consequences which must result from the absence of the necessary Laws and Institutions alike to the Native population and to Her subjects, has been graciously pleased to empower and authorise me, WILLIAM HOBSON, a Captain in Her Majesty's Royal Navy, Consul and Lieutenant-Governor of such parts of New Zealand as may be, or hereafter shall be, ceded to Her Majesty, to invite the confederated and independent Chiefs of New Zealand to concur in the following Articles and Conditions.

#### ARTICLE THE FIRST

The Chiefs of the Confederation of the United Tribes of New Zealand, and the separate and independent Chiefs who have not become members of the Confederation, cede to Her Majesty the Queen of England, absolutely and without reservation, all the rights and powers of Sovereignty which the said Confederation or Individual Chiefs respectively exercise or possess, or may be supposed to exercise or to possess, over their respective Territories as the sole Sovereigns thereof.

#### ARTICLE THE SECOND

" Her Majesty the Queen of England confirms and guarantees to the Chiefs and Tribes of New Zealand and to the respective families and individuals thereof,

the full, exclusive, and undisturbed possession of their Lands and Estates, Forests, Fisheries, and other properties which they may collectively or individually possess, so long as it is their wish and desire to retain the same in their possession ; but the Chiefs of the United Tribes and the Individual Chiefs yield to Her Majesty the exclusive right of Pre-emption over such lands as the Proprietors thereof may be disposed to alienate, at such prices as may be agreed upon between the respective Proprietors and persons appointed by Her Majesty to treat with them in that behalf.

#### ARTICLE THE THIRD

“ In consideration thereof, Her Majesty the Queen of England extends to the Natives of New Zealand Her Royal protection, and imparts to them all the Rights and Privileges of British subjects.

W. HOBSON,  
Lieutenant-Governor.

Now, therefore, We, the Chiefs of the Confederation of the United Tribes of New Zealand, being assembled in Congress at Victoria, in Waitangi, and We, the Separate and Independent Chiefs of New Zealand, claiming authority over the Tribes and Territories which are specified after our respective names, having been made fully to understand the Provisions of the foregoing Treaty, accept and enter into the same in the full spirit and meaning thereof : in witness of which, we have attached our signatures or marks at the places and the dates respectively specified.

Done at Waitangi, this sixth day of February, in the year of Our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty.

It is curious to relate that the country at that date was a dependency of New South Wales, distant nearly

1500 miles, whose laws were for the time being made applicable so far as they were suitable.

According to the opinion of Mr. Cowan, in his excellent book, *The Maori Past and Present*, published in 1910, the derivation of the word Maori as a race name has never been positively determined. By some authorities it is believed to correspond in meaning to the word "indigenous" which gives it a local derivation. By others it is said to have been derived from a Hebrew word introduced by the Polynesians at the time of their invasion. On the other hand, we have the authority of Dr. A. K. Newman who, in his closely reasoned and attractive book, *Who are the Maoris?* published in 1913, maintains that the word comes from Northern India, whence also came the language with its 15,000 words.

Much has been written, and many diverse opinions have been expressed upon the subject of what is believed to have been the origin of the Maori; but all have agreed that it is a matter of theory rather than of fact as to the source or sources from which the race sprang and from where it came to New Zealand. The very latest pronouncement on the points, based upon previous research, is to be found in a most entertaining book published in 1921 under the joint authorship of Messrs. A. W. Shrimpton and Alan E. Mulgan, from which, with grateful acknowledgments, the ensuing extract is taken:—

"There must always be an element of uncertainty with regard to the origin of a race which has no written language. Failing such authentic records of the events of the past, ethnologists rely upon such evidence as is afforded by physical characteristics, language, customs, and, above all the current legends and traditions to which primitive peoples cling with remarkable tenacity. A close study of the races of

South-Eastern Asia discloses the strong probability that Maoris are a mixed race mainly Polynesian but partly Melanesian. The former race, characterised by tall figures, a brown complexion, and wavy hair, is descended from Aryan or Caucasians of Northern India, whence it migrated nearly three thousand years ago to Indonesia and Malaysia, and thence, at intervals of considerable length, through Melanesia and Fiji to Samoa, Tahiti (Society Islands), the Cook Islands, and Hawaii.

“ More recent researches, including a comparative study of the languages of Polynesia and the Indo-European languages, and particularly their phonology, furnish grounds for tracing the descent of Polynesians from the primeval Aryans, whose fatherland is believed to have been located either in mid-Europe or in the region lying to the east of the Caspian Sea, where they flourished in the Stone Age, and whence successive migrations occurred eastward many thousands of years ago.

“ With respect to the more recent movements of the race, Polynesian ethnologists are now of the opinion that they migrated eastward from Indonesia, if not from India, in three distinct migrations, each of which probably, and the last two of which certainly, provided ultimate immigrants to New Zealand. The first and second led through the Straits of Malacca along the north-eastern shores of Sumatra to Java, thence south of Celebes to Gilolo, and north of New Guinea and the New Hebrides to Fiji, and then by way of Savaii, Upolu, and Tutuila to Raiatea and Tahiti. The third led north-east from Sumatra, south of Borneo, and north of Celebes by way of the Caroline and Marshall Groups to Hawaii, and was the first migration thither.

“ Tahiti, the traditional Hawaiki or fatherland of the Maori, apparently formed a centre from which

the race swarmed off by different migrations, north to Hawaii (Sandwich Islands), east to Easter Island, and south-west via Rarotonga to New Zealand, which was also reached by direct migration from Raiatea. Through intermarriage with the conquered inhabitants of lands visited by the first and second migrations, the race acquired the more distinctive Melanesian traits, namely dark complexion, frizzy hair, and strong beards. Among the pure-blooded Maories are to be found persons distinctly Caucasian, others strongly Melanesian, and some peculiarly Mongolian in complexion and features. The majority however, resemble Polynesians very closely in stature and other physical characteristics."

It has never been possible to ascertain at what date the ancestors of the Maori settled in New Zealand. Spasmodic migration took place for several hundred years prior to the twelfth century, with Fiji and Tahiti as bases. According to their own unvarying traditions, which have in many respects proved very reliable, the bulk of their forefathers arrived about 600 years ago from Hawaii in the Sandwich Islands. It is fairly certain that from a large migration in or about the year 1350 the present Maori are descended. They made their wonderful journeys oversea in primitive canoes of a most seaworthy character and settled in parties wherever they could overcome the fierce opposition of the aborigines then in possession who were eventually absorbed. It was daring enterprise requiring great skill and endurance of a high order to survive, as those early navigators did, the perils and hardships of the passage over great distances through stormy, unknown, and uncharted seas.

To have accomplished it, the people must have been of good physique and determined character. Early accounts describe the men as being of muscular build,

warlike and given to the hardy pursuits of hunting and fishing ; the women as robust, domestic, and of active nature, with a sense of morality that had no basis in marriage laws.

Their religion was Polytheism, with natural objects as deities. They held firmly to ancestor worship, and belief in good and evil spirits who survived the body after death, especially in the case of chiefs, retiring to obscure places whence they returned at intervals endowed with powers of punishment or reward according as the living deserved ; to these spirits sacrifice and propitiation were made through a priesthood held in reverence and awe. The sacred office of priesthood, with all its ritual and occult mysteries, passed from father to son in families dedicated to it.

By far the greatest factor in their religion and tribal government was the significance attached to the hallowed rites associated with Tapu, a system wielded by the higher priesthood by which they claimed power to surround with a halo of sanctity any persons or things ; it formed an essential element in their code of native law, and any breach or violation carried the severest penalties, and made the violators outcasts. This command over life and death gave the priests despotic power which they exercised to suit their own caprices or as instruments of the chiefs, whose persons and property were protected from all violence at the hands of the common people. It was by such means partly that the chiefs were enabled to maintain their authority as arbitrary rulers. Whilst this system exposed the people to great tyranny and cruelty, it had the merit of exalting capable rulers who could enforce discipline, and preserve a chieftainship able to consolidate the tribe in war and peace.

When first discovered, and for hundreds of years

afterwards, they exhibited and clung to all the forms of savagery found in primitive races. They were cannibals, steeped in superstition, their bodies almost nude, their habits and customs barbarous. Contrary to most primitive custom, the men tied their hair in knots whilst the women wore it loose and flowing. Both sexes were given to excessive tattooing of a grotesque description, artistic spirals of it on the faces of the men being peculiar to the race, giving them a forbidding appearance ; equally curious was the method of tattooing the lips of women, the object being to produce an effect calculated to disguise their emotions.

As sailors, they inherited from their ancestors the faculty of seamanship which enabled them to handle with skill their enormous double canoes, capable of carrying 150 warriors, and elaborately ornamented with carved figureheads and designs.

They were divided into a large number of clans between whom there was perpetual strife which constituted a great national weakness when threatened by a common enemy. Each had its own chiefs and priests and unwritten laws which were conserved and handed down by seers who were the depositaries of all the sacred traditions.

Their customs were not of that revolting character found in many savage races. Polygamy prevailed and was practised whenever a man could afford plurality of wives. Marriage ceremonies were of the simplest kind, consisting often of a few words spoken over the contracting parties, followed by feasting and dancing. A relic of the old custom is narrated by Mr. James Cowan in his book already referred to, describing how he once questioned a very old head-man upon the subject of their marriage ceremonies. He says “ a youth and girl of the Hapu <sup>1</sup> were being married on

<sup>1</sup> Hapu means a sub-tribe.

the day I visited the settlement, and a barrel of beer had just arrived—in contravention of the law—from the nearest township for the wedding festivities. . . . *Karakia!*<sup>1</sup> 'This is my *Karakia*,' said the old reprobate, grinning. He filled a tin pannikin with beer and held it up. 'I say to Timi—that's the boy—"You drink this," and then to Pare, the girl, "You drink." When they take a drink each, I say to them, "Now you are married." That all my *Karakia*. Good enough! ''

Land was held on communal tenure, its entire disposal to individuals for cultivation and residence being vested in the chiefs, who thus possessed a firm hold over contumacious members of the tribe.

Of proud and arrogant nature, quick to take offence and avenge, even to devour their enemies during the reign of cannibalism, they had an attractive side to their character, and were not without redeeming qualities of which warm-heartedness, love of children, and manliness were outstanding features.

From these early conditions they evolved during the centuries into a widely different type, influenced by their contact with civilisation and the teachings of Christianity.

It was only natural that a wild people of stormy disposition, hitherto unconquered, coming under the restraint of civilised laws in 1840 should for some time resist them, more especially as they had an innate love of fighting and their young warriors claimed the right to blood their spears and show their prowess. Moreover, their leaders had the gift of oratory, characteristic of aboriginal races having no literature or written records, that can attain to poetic heights, rouse their listeners to passion, and persuade them that their souls and bodies are in peril if they do not strike fiercely at their enemies, though in reality they fear it must lead to disaster.

<sup>1</sup> *Karakia* means an incantation.

These influences and others of a local character affecting land disputes led to unhappy wars, one lasting from 1845 to 1848, the other from 1860 to 1871, with little intermission. The Maori laboured under all the grievances that so easily arise in native countries where white people settle, expand, and establish civilised rule; where the status of chieftainship is bound to diminish accordingly, the land to pass out of their hands, and cherished customs not in keeping with the new environment forced to disappear. Thus, as nearly always happens, bitterness turns to discontent and anger, and minor incidents are then sufficient to kindle strife.

That is what happened in New Zealand. The spark that lighted the first war was that the Maori wife of a European spoke disrespectfully of a certain chief who, not receiving the satisfaction demanded for the insult, cut down a Government flagstaff in retaliation. Then followed war, marked by valiant deeds and disasters on both sides. The settlers being then few in number, were powerless without the help of British troops, who eventually quelled what became a serious and prolonged rebellion.

One of the principal incidents out of many perhaps which opened up the second war was briefly that, as the European settlers increased in numbers, there became a great hunger on their part for land which, under the treaty, could only be acquired by Government on purchase from the natives. A minor chief was persuaded to sell a block, whereupon a head chief challenged his right to sell, and threatened to resist it. Inquiry proved that the minor chief was actuated by a feeling of revenge against his superior, his object being to bring the latter into conflict with the white people. Though the sale appeared to be in contravention of the spirit of the treaty and was condemned

by many leading Europeans as an improper act, it went through, arousing at once in the native mind strong feelings of injustice and indignation ; for it involved the ejection of the head chief and a number of his people from the ground on which they were actually living. Upon surveyors going out to peg the new boundaries, the chief erected a fort which he defended stoutly for some time with success and evacuated cleverly with scarcely any loss when the troops rushed it. This was the beginning of a war which dragged on in a desultory form for over ten years, during which the settlers were driven into fortified camps, hemmed in, and all agriculture and other development was arrested. In the course of the long conflict many fierce battles were fought and many stirring scenes were enacted ; acts of extreme gallantry both by individuals and contingents were of frequent occurrence on both sides, and it was not until 1871 that this disastrous state of war came to a close and peace was restored.

It has rarely happened that British settlers have been subjected to such grave perils, endured them with greater fortitude, or been called upon to offer more stubborn resistance. The Maori were a brave and determined enemy who, though greater in numbers, were without means of rapid communication, were not thoroughly united and did not combine well ; armed only with inferior guns and primitive weapons, without artillery, cavalry, or entrenching implements, they nevertheless held their own with remarkable tenacity for many years against settlers stiffened by British troops, ships of war, and large resources. They had a genius for war and singular aptitude for choosing and defending positions of natural strength as well as for building stockades and laying ambushes. Their great strength lay in their supreme knowledge of the dense country, which was almost unknown to the

whites, who again and again were inveigled into traps and badly cut up. They were fortified in the belief that they were fighting for the wild life they loved, and for their land against oppression. They were guilty of many cruel murders and revolting acts which excited vengeance ; but their courage, and at times their chivalrous conduct, won admiration from the settlers and British officers by whom they were described as "manly and high spirited people." The historians of the war question whether in any age is to be found a more heroic story than their defence of Orakau, an entrenched position, where 300 Maori, having scarcely any food, water, or ammunition, held out for several days against 2000 troops armed with artillery. They refused all terms of surrender or offers to let their women go out, saying, "The women will fight with the men," and eventually made a glorious sortie, cutting their way out with the loss of half the garrison.

The result of the wars was a great blow to the chiefs, to the superstitious belief in their own powers and that of their priests who had urged them on with all their eloquence and other devices, which the warriors had translated into battle songs contemptuous of the white men whenever reverses were inflicted upon them, as not infrequently happened. With the result came the awakening that they must bow to the inevitable and recognise the power of the British, who had shown on many occasions how to temper justice with mercy and displayed the desire both to forgive and to govern the natives fairly with every intention to enlighten and uplift them.

From that time forward the New Zealand Government and people spared no efforts on their behalf, in pursuance of the high-minded policy which the British people have always adhered to of guiding and protecting subject races. But it was no easy matter to

graft upon people who had for so long been immersed in wars, struggling to preserve the savage life and customs so dear to them. Peace and ordered government led them, as happened under similar circumstances with other races, to become indolent, relying for subsistence rather upon the rents of their lands than upon cultivation or the pursuit of other remunerative occupations ; so they drifted into degeneracy, numerically, physically, and morally. From this condition the Government and missionary societies have done much to raise them by education and opportunities to study agriculture, trades, and hygiene necessary for health preservation. To protect them against one of their worst enemies, viz. : spirituous liquors obtained from white people, restrictive laws were made. It is of interest to quote the following precis kindly supplied to me by Sir James Allen.

“ The Maori Councils Act confers a limited measure of self-government upon the Maori, and the Licensing Laws of the Dominion make provision for the taking of polls in certain districts on the recommendation of the Maori Councils of those districts, for the purpose of determining whether liquor shall be supplied to natives in those districts or not, those voting on the question being the Maori qualified to vote as electors at any election of a Member of Parliament.

If the result of a poll in any district is that a majority of the electors are in favour of the proposal that liquor shall not be supplied to natives in that district, then, on the expiry of one month after the declaration of the result of the poll, every person (whether a licensed person or not) who, in any such district (whether on licensed premises or not), supplies liquor to any native, shall be liable on a summary conviction to a fine not exceeding one hundred pounds.

Every person (whether a licensed person or not) is

liable, on summary conviction, to a fine not exceeding fifty pounds who, in any part of New Zealand—

- (a) Supplies liquor to an intoxicated male native ;  
or
- (b) Supplies liquor to any female native, unless that native is the wife of a person other than a native, or except for religious purposes or for medicinal purposes upon the authority of a registered medical practitioner.

On the application of the owners of that large area of native land in the central part of the North Island commonly known as the King Country made under the authority of the Licensing Laws, proclamations were issued many years ago prohibiting the granting of licences within that area.

An Act passed in 1909 declared those proclamations to be, and at all times to remain, valid and of full effect as to the whole of every area comprised in those proclamations, notwithstanding that any part of such area was not native land at the time of the making of the Proclamation, or had ceased (whether before or after the passing of this Act) to be native land."

The population, which at the end of the eighteenth century was estimated at a quarter of a million and in 1840 at 100,000, became sadly depleted as the result of tribal wars and the baneful influence of what is worst in our civilisation. The first native census was taken in the year 1874 when the numbers were only 45,470, mostly living on the Northern Island. Since then it fluctuated until in 1901 it began to show a slow but consistent rise, reaching 52,571 in 1921, which points to the hope and belief that the tide of decay has turned.

With the disappearance of tattooing, adoption of European clothes and civilised habits, the Maori as seen to-day present a great contrast in physiognomy and character to the type known to the settlers a

century ago, and infinitely greater to that found by Captain Cook in 1769. For the most part they are of medium height, sturdy, of good proportions, with light-brown skins and dark brown hair, usually wavy or straight. The Mongolic caste of features is often visible: otherwise nothing very much more than a certain coarseness of lips, broad nostrils, and sallow-ness of complexion appear to distinguish them from Europeans, in company with whom when similarly clad they may pass without particular notice. During the Great War when hundreds of them were quartered with English troops they fell into the common life of any community, neither their manners, habits, or appearance differentiating them to any extent. Dr. Newman, in his book already referred to, says, "If they were as careful of their complexions as the Caucasians of Europe, many Maori of high caste would be fairer than the peoples of Southern Europe. A series of excellent busts of Maori was recently made in white plaster by a talented English sculptor. Standing on pedestals, they are so like English busts in the Royal Academy that one is forced to look at them carefully to pick out their Maori traits. . . . Some Maori are as pure Caucasian in features as any Caucasians in Europe."

Characteristically they may be described as passionate of disposition, content to eat the bread of idleness and, as a rule, indifferent to the interests of themselves or their country. Nevertheless, the young generation are now realising that the age of indolence has passed, and that, if they are to hold their own, to progress and prosper, they must work hard like the white people do, must cultivate their land and other industries on modern lines, and enter into the general efforts for the development of New Zealand's resources. To encourage and stimulate them, education is afforded in primary schools now attended by over 10,000 Maori

children and in ten secondary schools ; in addition, they are entitled to attend public schools in districts more or less settled by Europeans. Furthermore, every opportunity is given to children of merit, or to any who desire it, to obtain the highest education available in the Dominion, technical or otherwise, to qualify in and practise any profession, and to rise to any position in the land without restriction.

For Parliamentary representation the Maori are empowered to elect four members of their own nationality to the House of Representatives, every male adult being qualified to vote without registration. To the Legislative Council two Maori are appointed by the Governor-General, who hold office for seven years ; there is no limit to the number who may be so appointed. Apart from their special representation, Maori freeholders and half-castes, male or female, if duly registered, are qualified to vote or to be elected at the ordinary elections of all members to the House of Representatives. By Act of Parliament of 1912, the Governor-General may by Order in Council declare any native to be a European, provided the applicant has a knowledge of English, a certain educational qualification, and holds land or earns or possesses an income adequate for maintenance. Similarly, Maori have representation on all Local and Land Boards and Councils where their interests are concerned.

The large quantity of land, formerly held by the natives in community, was reserved to them under the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840. They had power to sell it provided that the Government should have the pre-emptive right of purchase. Though as their numbers decreased they disposed of much of it, of which they could make no beneficial use, at the present time ample remains to them, the actual acreage now under their holding being four and three-quarter

millions, representing an average of ninety acres per head of population. The policy of the Government is to promote individual tenure and to train them to a better knowledge of pastoral and agricultural pursuits. In 1921 they were stated to have owned 574,531 sheep, over 60,000 cattle, and 13,577 horses, beside other stock. They are blessed with a healthy climate, abundant rainfall, a fertile soil and good pasturage, with unlimited timber for use and trade. As food, they are partial to vegetable products, fish, and fruits, but for the most part have taken to the simpler forms of European diet.

The Under Secretary for Native Affairs in his Annual Report of June, 1922, states:—

“ The health of the natives has been receiving special attention from the Health Department, under the special supervision of one of their own race, Dr. P. H. Buck, Director of Maori Hygiene, and a body of devoted nurses, who are doing splendid and effective work, supplemented by the native school teachers; while the spiritual welfare of the Maori is safely left in the hands of the Christian Churches, who have a band of heroic workers employed in their self-imposed task.”

Such is a view, past and present, of these very interesting people, who have had a long history of stirring vicissitudes and romance. Within comparatively a short period, they have passed from barbarism to a condition bordering upon civilisation, showing themselves possessed of mental capacity that may enable them to rise to a high level of intelligence. It is not to be expected that their character and disposition can become rapidly assimilated to European culture. The efforts made for their material benefit, their close association with civilised people,

and the influence of Christianity, which they may be said generally to have accepted, are all fulfilling purposes in work which must be allowed to take an undisturbed course towards development on natural lines. All feelings of enmity between the settlers and Maori roused during the unhappy wars have passed away, and present conditions tend to establish the fact that the New Zealand Government and people have followed true British ideals in giving freedom, justice, and enlightenment to the native race committed to their charge.

The following note upon the loyalty of the Maori and their gallantry in the late European War has been kindly written by Colonel Sir James Allen, K.C.B., High Commissioner for New Zealand.

"The loyalty of the Maori to the Crown is fully exemplified by their attitude when war was declared in 1914. The composition of the New Zealand Expeditionary Force as designed in 1913 did not provide for any Maori unit, but as soon as the Maoris realised this, their representatives requested the Government to include a Maori force, with the result that in February, 1915, the first Maori draft of 518 and the 1st Rarotongan draft of 198 (including 148 Niue Islanders) embarked for Egypt. Subsequent drafts brought the number to 2688, and if there be added to this the 346 in training on the 12th November, 1918, the total amounts to 3034.

"It is interesting to note that included in the 346 in training were 23 Gilbert Islanders and 54 Fijians, who had requested to go to the front and who were sent to New Zealand for training.

"From Egypt the Maori were sent to Malta for garrison duty, but this did not satisfy their desire to be in the front line of the fighting, and so, as a result of their own urgent request, they embarked

for Gallipoli. Two short extracts from Major Waite's *The New Zealanders at Gallipoli* prove how nobly the Maoris followed the traditions of their forefathers :—

“ Page 194.—‘ The Maori soldier, picked man that he was, wished to justify before the world that his claim to be a front-line soldier was not an idle one. Many a proud Rangatira served his country in the ranks, an example to some of his Pakeha brothers. Their discipline was superb, and when their turn came for working party, the long-handled shovels swung without ceasing.’

and dealing with the capture of Table Top :—

“ Page 210.—‘ In the gully between Bauchop's Hill and Old No. 3, a party of Turks fired on the Maoris, who saw red and slew the Turks to a man. Chasing the enemy up the gully, the Maoris never stopped until they were round the back of Table Top, and were only with great difficulty restrained from tackling Sari Bair by themselves.’

“ In January, 1916, the Maori troops were utilised to form the Pioneer Battalion. It is sufficient to say that their services in this battalion were just as conspicuous as the work done by them in Gallipoli.

“ One other interesting point must be told, namely, that every Maori who went to the front volunteered to go. The Military Service Act, which provided for compulsory service, contained a clause permitting the Minister of Defence to use his discretion in applying compulsory service to the Maoris. So readily did the Maoris volunteer that it was unnecessary to use the compulsory provision until the last stages of the war,

and then only with respect to one tribe, and at the request of the Maoris themselves. Perhaps it was well that the Armistice was declared before the Maoris who came into camp under the compulsory clause were ready to go, but experience during the training justifies the statement that if they had gone to the front they would have served faithfully and well."



Arms of Tasmania.



## WESTERN PACIFIC



## CHAPTER XIV

### NATIVE RACES IN THE WESTERN PACIFIC

BY

SIR ERNEST BICKHAM SWEET-ESCOTT, K.C.M.G.,

*Formerly Governor of Fiji and High Commissioner for  
the Western Pacific.*

OF the native races included within the limits of the British Empire there are few, if any, of more absorbing interest than those which are placed under the administrative control of the officer who holds the dual appointment of Governor of Fiji and High Commissioner for the Western Pacific.

The most important group of islands, although not the largest, is that comprised within the Colony of Fiji. Situated between latitude 15 degrees and 22 degrees south, and between longitude 177 degrees west and 175 east, the Fiji Islands are some 250 in number, but, probably, not more than 80 are inhabited. They range in size from Viti Levu, which is almost as large as Jamaica, and from Vanua Levu, which is larger than Trinidad, to mere rocks—dots in the ocean. Their total area is, approximately, the same as that of Wales, and, therefore, greater than all the British West Indian Islands put together, if the Bahama and the Bermuda groups are excluded. According to the Census of 1921, the population of the colony is 157,200, of whom 84,475 are Fijians, and 60,634 are Indians, the Europeans numbering 3878 and the half-castes 2781. Of the total population, 95,789, including the 84,475 natives, are returned as Christians, whilst the non-Christian population is

given as 59,949, of whom 59,366 are returned as Indians.

The colony is equipped with the usual machinery of administration, and has its Legislative Council, consisting of twelve nominated members, of whom eleven are officials and one is a native of India, two native Fijian members, nominated by the Great Council of Chiefs and appointed by the Governor, and seven elective members. The Governor is the President of the Council. The Advisory Body is the Executive Council, the members of which are the Governor, who presides at all meetings, the Colonial Secretary, the Attorney-General, one other official, and two unofficials, who are also elective members of the Legislative Council.

The discovery of the Fiji Islands is wrapt in some obscurity. We know from his log that Abel Janszoon Tasman sighted the islands some 279 years ago in his voyage from Tasmania, and called the group "Prince William's Land," but no settlement was made in any one of them, and 130 years passed before Captain Cook, on his voyage of discovery in the Pacific, touched at one of the most southerly islands of the group. In 1789 Captain Bligh, H.M.S. *Bounty*, sailed in a boat, in which he had been sent adrift with his officers by the mutineers of his ship, through the Yasawa Islands, which lie to the north-west of Viti Levu, and in 1792 he passed through the islands of the group when he was in command of H.M.S. *Province*. The mutineers ultimately found a home in Pitcairn Islands, and took to themselves as wives the dusky but comely women of Tahiti. Their descendants live to-day on the same island, which is also under the High Commissioner of the Western Pacific.

The first experience of the white man gained by the natives of Fiji was not altogether a happy one.

Escaped convicts from Botany Bay and deserters from visiting ships settled in their islands and taught the natives little that was good. Indeed it was not till 1835, when Wesleyan missionaries for the first time came from Tonga to Fiji, that the natives became aware that higher forms of civilisation and religion than their own existed in other parts of the world.

The early history of the natives of Fiji has yet to be told. Some ethnologists claim that the natives should be classified as Papuans, whilst their resemblance, in features and language, to certain East African tribes, points to the possibility of a migration, many hundred years ago, from the East African coast to their present island homes. But it is with their life and characteristics to-day, rather than with a dim and distant past, that we are now concerned.

The work of the Wesleyan missionaries, begun at Lakeba in the Lau Islands, was extended gradually to the other and larger islands, and, when in 1854 King Cakobau was converted to Christianity, heathenism was overcome, and cannibalism, so long practised in the islands, became a crime. In 1874, when the cession to Great Britain of the Fiji Islands was accepted,—a similar offer having been refused in 1862 by Her Majesty's Government,—there was not one native of Fiji, so it was stated, who was not, in name at all events, a professing Christian. And that was the work of the Wesleyan Mission.

It must be remembered always that the cession of Fiji to Great Britain was a purely voluntary act on the part of King Cakobau and the other principal chiefs who signed the deed of cession, although the offer was the result of the pressure of financial difficulties. Its acceptance certainly was influenced, to no small extent, by the activities of Germany in the Pacific.

The document which was signed by Cakobau and  
N.R.

gave effect to the terms of cession, arranged by Sir Hercules Robinson, then Governor of New South Wales, runs as follows: "We, King of Fiji, together with other high chiefs of Fiji, hereby give our Country Fiji unreservedly to Her Britannic Majesty, Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, and we trust and repose fully in her that she will rule Fiji justly and affectionately, and that we may continue to live in peace and prosperity." When the deed of cession was signed by all the great chiefs on the 10th October, 1874, Cakobau handed over his war club to be given to Queen Victoria as a proof that club law was abandoned, and that Fiji adopted the forms and principles of civilised societies.

In 1874 the native population of the group was estimated at 150,000, a number which was reduced by at least one-fourth by an epidemic of measles in 1875. Since the latter year the native population decreased in numbers until 1912, when, owing principally to the excellent work of the Medical Department, the wastage was stayed. From that year until 1918 a slight increase of births over deaths took place; but in the latter part of 1918 a serious epidemic of influenza broke out, resulting in the deaths of over 8000 persons, of whom more than 5000 were natives. Since the disappearance of influenza there has been a gradual recovery of the conditions obtaining prior to its outbreak.

The natives continue to enjoy a considerable measure of self-government, and the form of native administration, in the words of the report on the colony for 1918, "allows a large voice in the management of their immediate domestic concerns, and embodies such variation of native customs as has been found requisite to meet local conditions. It has proved suitable to native society at the present stage of its development, and its effect has been beneficial to the people."

The native affairs of the different provinces of the colony are under the charge of high chiefs, to whom the title of Roko Tui (the Reverend High Chief) is given, or of a European Commissioner, who is assisted by a native officer. The Great Council of Chiefs (in Fijian, Na Bose Vakaturaga), which meets every two or three years, or oftener if necessary, is presided over, on the first day, by the Governor, who delivers an address dealing with questions in which the Fijians are specially interested, and on subsequent days by the officer discharging the duties of Secretary for Native Affairs. The council is, in fact, an advisory body, but during its sittings questions are discussed which later find legal expression in Regulations passed by the Native Regulation Board, on which the natives are fully represented. Such Regulations, on being approved by the Legislative Council, have the force of law. In addition, there are held in each province regular meetings of Provincial Councils, at which the annual estimates of the Revenue and Expenditure of the province are considered and settled, and questions affecting the interests of the province as a whole are discussed. And, lastly, questions of minor importance, but of interest to the natives in each district of the province, are examined and settled in District Councils. The Provincial and District Councils deal with matters of purely native concern, and the interest taken in them by the natives, whose loyalty has been shown abundantly again and again, afford a striking proof of the value of home rule in native affairs.

The medical needs of the natives receive the Government's constant and watchful care, and skilful English medical officers, assisted by native medical practitioners trained in the public hospital, minister to those requiring medical advice and treatment, whilst there have been established in all provinces special hospitals and dispensaries, where the natives

receive the attention that cannot be given in their own homes.

For many years the burden of primary education among the natives was borne almost exclusively by the Methodist and Roman Catholic Missions, but latterly the Government has done much for the education of native children, whilst the establishment of Provincial Schools, under the charge of European masters, is affording the natives opportunities of securing for their children a better system of education than was previously within their reach.

The Queen Victoria Memorial School, established, as its name shows, as a memorial to her late Majesty, whose name is still reverenced by the natives of the colony, provides for the sons of high chiefs a scheme of education which has already enabled many of its pupils to obtain appointments in the Government service outside the native administration, and should fit them, in time, to hold high office in the land of their birth. In all the schools for natives the value of games is realised, and many of the Fijians excel in cricket and golf, whilst at Rugby football the natives, with proper coaching, could put in the field, without difficulty, a team that would hold its own with many of the best clubs at home. But it is in drill that the natives especially excel, and the manner in which evolutions are performed by the native platoon, enrolled for the first time in Suva during the Great War for the defence of the town, would do credit to some of the crack British regiments.

It was a cause of real grief to the loyal Fijians that they were not allowed to form a combatant force to take part in the Great War, but an outlet for their loyalty was found in the enrolment of 100 picked men as a labour contingent, under the command of European officers, which rendered in 1917 and 1918 conspicuously good service at Calais, Marseilles, and

Taranto. The expense of sending to Europe the native labour contingent was borne by the Honourable Henry Marks, C.B.E., an elective member of the Legislative Council and a member of the Executive Council, who contributed himself £5000 for that purpose, whilst his firm, Messrs. Henry Marks & Co., supplemented that generous and patriotic gift by a further sum of £5000.

During the years 1914-1918 the natives of the colony, by the exercise of much self-denial, subscribed to the various patriotic funds not less than £50,000, and the difficulty was not to raise money but rather to prevent the natives from giving away all that they possessed. The forty years which have passed between the cession to Great Britain of the Fiji Islands and the outbreak of the Great War have forged between the natives and the Crown a chain of loyalty which has stood the strain of many tests; and the frank recognition by her rulers that Great Britain's administration of Fiji, as of other tropical countries, must be founded on equal justice to all has proved the surest pledge of the endurance of the British Empire.

In outward appearance the Fijians are very attractive, and they vary in colour from dark brown to brunette. Their hair, from infancy, is trained to grow upwards, and the higher the head of hair the greater the claim to smartness. Physically the natives are a particularly fine-looking and well-built race, above the ordinary stature of Europeans and with quite exceptional muscular development. Dependent on the cultivation of the soil for their staple food, and accustomed from the earliest days to a communal system of life, the natives, generally speaking, take little interest in manufactures, but they are expert boat builders, and are unequalled in the skill of handling their native craft. Many of them make excellent carpenters, and there is no reason why the

natives should not supply in time all the skilled labour required for the development of their country.

Of the other groups of islands, for the administration of which the High Commissioner for the Western Pacific is responsible, by far the most important on account of their size and capacity for development are the Solomon Islands, which lie between the parallels of 5 degrees and 12 degrees 30 minutes south latitude and the meridians of 155 degrees and 170 degrees east longitude. In area they measure over 12,000 square miles, and their native population is estimated to be between 100,000 and 150,000. Some of the islands are of considerable size, the three largest islands, Guadalcanal, Malaita, and Ysabel being each almost 2000 square miles. To this group belong properly the islands of Bougainville and Buka, formerly German colonies, but taken at the end of 1914, and now administered by the Commonwealth of Australia as mandatory territories. The Solomon Islands Protectorate, first constituted in 1893, is under the direct charge of a Resident Commissioner with headquarters at Tulagi, and since 1921 there has been established an Advisory Council which consists of four members in addition to the Commissioner. It is enacted by the Regulation, which was made under the Pacific Order in Council, 1893, providing for the council, that the Resident Commissioner shall inform or consult the council regarding such matters as he may, in his discretion, determine, whilst the members may call for information respecting the internal affairs of the protectorate. The islands included within the protectorate are of exceptional fertility, and, if brought under cultivation would be very productive; but the difficulty has been hitherto to civilise the natives, who, except what are called "beach tribes," lead a nomadic life among the hills and in the bush, and are, for the most part, of a lawless nature. In the

task of civilisation the Government derives much help from the mission bodies, and especially from the Melanesian Mission, which, since the first visit to the group in 1856 of John Coleridge Patteson, afterwards first Bishop of Melanesia, who found in the Santa Cruz Islands a martyr's death, has done magnificent work among the natives. The natives are of Melanesian origin, although some show traces of Polynesian blood, and they vary in colour from nearly black in the islands of the Bougainville Straits and in the New Georgia group, and Choiseul, to much lighter shades in Ysabel, Malaita, Guadalcanal, San Cristoval, and Santa Cruz. Of recent years the natives of many of the islands, thanks to Governmental and missionary efforts, have been brought, more or less, under control, and head-hunting is seldom practised, but some years must elapse until they attain anything like the standard of civilisation which the natives of Fiji, Tonga, and the Gilbert and Ellice Islands have reached. The demand for labour in the group is great, and the inadequacy of the supply is the cause of so small an area of land being brought under coco-nut cultivation. With a further supply of labour more land could be cultivated profitably with different agricultural products, such as bananas, rubber, cotton, and coffee, in addition to coco-nuts, whilst climatic conditions would be improved by the draining of swamps and the extinction of mosquitoes, especially the genus *Anopheles*, the cause of malarial fever. The establishment of more schools and hospitals, the eradication of causes of disease, and, above all, the spread of Christianity, will inevitably have their results in bringing to the inhabitants of the Solomon Islands, Europeans and natives alike, a degree of prosperity and contentment which at present would seem to be beyond their reach. Above all things patience is required, and the establishment of sympathetic relations between the natives

and the Government. In Fiji at the present time there are many Solomon Islands "boys," as they are termed, who are valued as servants and labourers owing to their steady and industrious habits, acquired, in some instances, by a term of imprisonment in the Suva Jail, and it speaks well for the natives as a race that, when removed from the surroundings of their youth, they lose those characteristics which make them difficult to control in their own country.

The Gilbert and Ellice Islands which, with the Union Islands, Fanning Island, where there is an important cable station, and Christmas Island, are subject to the administration of the High Commissioner for the Western Pacific, were formerly a Protectorate, but from the end of 1915 became, at the request of the natives themselves, a Crown Colony. Sixteen islands, situated just north and south of the Equator, form the Gilbert Group, whilst farther south are the nine Ellice Islands. To the east of the Ellice Islands are the three Union Islands, and to the north-east is Fanning Island, about 4 degrees north of the Equator. The colony is under the charge of a Resident Commissioner, whose headquarters and those of the different officers, exclusive of the district officers who are stationed on the other islands, are at Ocean Island, on which the almost inexhaustible supplies of phosphates are worked by the Pacific Phosphate Company. The area of the Gilbert and Ellice Groups is 180 square miles, while the population is not far short of 28,000 of Malayo-Polynesian race, the majority of whom have been brought under the instruction of the London Missionary Society or the Roman Catholic Mission of the Sacred Heart.

The Rev. J. W. Burton, in his book, *The Call of the Pacific*, writes as follows of the islanders: "The Gilbertese are not a very refined people, nor of a high order of intelligence in comparison with the inhabitants

of the islands farther east ; but they have a manly bearing, claim a proud descent, and are of good, upstanding physique. They were renowned for their skill in fishing and in navigation. In the old days they sailed, from island to island, hundreds of miles from their own homes, with only frail catamarans, driven by grass sails, and no chart or compass save stout hearts and tireless eyes. Many of these canoes were works of almost infinite labour and patience. Their only implements were stone adzes and shell knives. . . . Not only were they expert fishers and venturesome sailors, but they were fierce fighters and never happier than when in tribal conflict. War was their recreation and the root of their prestige."

Of the natives of the Ellice Group Mr. Burton wrote, "They are really of Samoan stock, and have brought to their islands the traditions of courtesy and refinement for which the Samoese are noted."

The principal industry in all the islands of the colony, excluding the production of phosphates at Ocean Island, is copra making, whilst in the Gilbert and Ellice Groups the fibre industry, if proper machinery and baling plant were provided, might be made a profitable business, as the fibre is at least as good as, if not better than, that of Ceylon.

The natives of the colony are encouraged to govern themselves and administer their own affairs as much as possible, but Mr. Eliot, formerly Resident Commissioner, in his report on the colony for 1918-19, referred to the gradual disappearance of the old order of senior native Government officials. He wrote hopefully, however, of the good results that might be anticipated from the institution of a new scheme of Government education, which should bring out all that was best in the native character.

The loyalty of all the natives, old and young, rich and poor, to the British Crown during the war was

very marked. The total contributions of the colony to the various war funds was over £12,600, and of that amount £11,000 were given by the natives. Many of the native officials asked that the whole of their salaries might be taken for the objects of the war, and the difficulty was to restrain them from giving everything that they possessed. As in Fiji, so in the Gilbert and Ellice Islands, evenhanded justice in administration and the patient and kindly treatment of the natives by their administrators found their reward in the hour of trial.

Concerning the New Hebrides, the islands of which extend for nearly 700 miles, whilst the population is estimated variously from 150,000 to 50,000, the latter being, probably, nearer the mark, a few brief remarks only will be made. The natives suffer, unfortunately, from the establishment of a Condominium, which places them under the control of French as well as British masters. Since 1902 British and French Resident Commissioners have been appointed to represent respectively the British and French Governments, the former taking his orders from the Governor of Fiji as British High Commissioner for the New Hebrides, the latter from the Governor of New Caledonia, who is styled French High Commissioner for the group. Both the Resident Commissioners and the High Commissioners act under the provisions of the Anglo-French Convention of 1906 and are responsible severally for the conduct of their own nationals. It speaks well for the tact and discretion exercised by High Commissioners and Resident Commissioners alike that the Convention has worked with as little friction as it has during the past seventeen years. Credit is due also to the influence on the natives exercised by the Melanesian Mission, the Presbyterian Churches of Canada and Australia, and the Roman Catholic Church. But, notwithstanding all that has been

accomplished by British and French administrators and by the different mission bodies, the natives of the New Hebrides remain the least civilised of all the races in the Western Pacific. It is doubtful whether they are capable of being raised to the standard of the Samoans, Fijians, and Tongans, but, until the islands are administered by one European Power only, the rate of advance from their present condition must be very slow.

The last, but by no means the least interesting group of islands to claim our attention are the Tongan or Friendly Islands. Situated about 390 miles to the east-south-east of Fiji, they consist of a large number of islands, of which only three are of any considerable size. To the south is Tonga or Tongatabu, where has been built the capital, Nukualofa, with its royal palace ; Vavau lies to the north ; and Haapai occupies a central position between the two. The total area of the group is 385 square miles, whilst of the total population of 23,563, 22,689 are pure Tongans. The Tongan Islands, although a protectorate under Great Britain, have a native sovereign, who, with the assistance of a Parliament, a Privy Council, and a Cabinet, administer the affairs of the kingdom with little interference from His Majesty's Agent and Consul, whose duties are really those of guide, philosopher, and friend to the native kingdom, and who takes his instructions from the Governor of Fiji as High Commissioner under the Pacific Order in Council. The first chief who established his authority over the group was George Tubou I., a man of considerable ability and strength of character. Dying in 1893, he left the kingdom to his great-grandson George Taufaahau, who assumed the title George Tubou II. The latter, who inherited some of the ability of his great-grandfather, and was a man of extraordinarily fine physique, died in April, 1918, and was succeeded

as queen by his daughter Princess Salote, a lady of considerable refinement and education. The year before her accession the princess married, to the joy of the whole population, Prince Viliami Tugi, a chief of the highest rank, who had shown unusual gifts of administration as Governor of Vavau. Under the present queen, assisted by Prince Tugi, who occupies the position of Prince Consort, and with the support of the British connection, the future of the Tongan Islands appears to be a bright one. Thanks to the excellent schools, secondary as well as primary, which have been established throughout the islands, the natives of Tonga are capable of taking their full share in the administration of the kingdom. The Chief Justice, the Auditor-General, the Chief Financial Officer, the Head of the Public Works Department, and the medical Officers are Europeans, but nearly all the other officers are natives, including the Premier, Tui Vakano. Hospitals have been established where necessary, and the social life of the native population is on a higher plane than it is in the other parts of the Pacific. The religious needs of natives and Europeans are by no means neglected, and there have been established five different churches, with their varying schools of thought ; namely, the Wesleyan Mission Church ; The Wesleyan "Free Church of Tonga" ; The Roman Catholic Church ; the Free Church of England ; and the Church of England. The climate is one of the best in the Pacific ; the annual revenue, which varies between £50,000 and £90,000, being dependent mainly on copra, its principal export, exceeds almost every year the annual expenditure ; and the prospects of establishing other products of value, and notably cotton, are excellent. In describing the natives of Tonga, Mr. Burton, whom I have quoted already, writes as follows : "They are an exceptionally finely formed and stalwart people. They are

good-looking, of chiefly bearing, with complexions of a clear brown, almost copper colour. They are, for a native race, capable and intelligent. In Tonga and Samoa civilisation reached its highest, and, therefore, the people have been able to accommodate themselves to the changes brought about by the influence of Western civilisation, far better than many of their neighbours."

It is interesting to note that the decrease in the native population, which was very marked a generation ago, has been stayed, and that annually there is now reported an excess of births over deaths. In another generation it may be a question whether Tongans will not have to look outside their native homes for employment in different spheres of life. If that time should come, they will find in the Fiji Islands, and especially in Viti Levu and Vanua Levu, which can support a population many times larger than they have at present, a wide scope for their energies and skill in different departments of life.



WEST INDIES



## CHAPTER XV

### THE NATIVE AND COLOURED RACES OF THE BRITISH WEST INDIES, BRITISH GUIANA, BRITISH HONDURAS, THE BAHAMAS, AND BERMUDA

BY

HON. GIDEON MURRAY, Master of Elibank

*Formerly Administrator of St. Vincent and of St. Lucia*

THE history of Great Britain's possessions in the West Indies traced through the three troubled centuries which followed their discovery shortly before the year 1500 is, to a large extent, the story of the continuous capture and recapture of the separate islands by the Powers that were struggling for supremacy in the Caribbean Sea. For instance, the island of St. Kitts changed hands no less than eleven times, and most of the other islands of the Leeward Group have been taken and retaken scarcely less frequently.

On the other hand, there are certain colonies which, since their first capture by the English, have never flown any but the British flag, and which can boast of a history almost as remarkable for its monotony as is that of St. Kitts for its vicissitudes. Barbados, for instance, was taken possession of by an English ship in the year 1605 and has never since changed hands.

The West Indies owe their name to the fact that Columbus, when he first sighted them, believed that he had reached India by a western route as he had long hoped to do. The Antilles is another name by which these islands are known. This name is said to be derived from Antilla or Antiglia, a mythical land

which was believed to exist in the West and is placed on ancient charts about 200 leagues to the westward of the Azores.

When the islands of the West Indies were first discovered by the Spanish, the larger of them, such as Cuba, Jamaica, and Haiti, were inhabited by a gentle and timid race named the Arouagues or Arawaks. These people have long since been exterminated, and apparently never existed in any appreciable numbers. The smaller islands, that is, the Lesser Antilles, which are now mainly British, and with which we are more particularly concerned, were inhabited by people called the Charaibes or Caribs, who were of a much more warlike nature, and were in some of the islands a source of trouble for very many years. The origin of the Caribs is not certain, but they are said to have arrived from over the seas in fleets of canoes. From comparison of their facial features and physical proportions with other existing remains of Indian races on the South American Continent, the writer believes that they hailed originally from the stretch of country in South America lying between the Rivers Amazon and Orinoco, now known as British Guiana, Dutch Guiana, and French Guiana.

Whilst a great many of the Caribs have, in the course of time been exterminated, there are still some families of pure-blooded Caribs or so-called "Red Caribs" living in Dominica and also a few in St. Vincent. As a race they are of medium stature, both men and women. They are lightly built but very agile, muscular and strong. In colour they are of a light copper. Their faces are oval, with noses of an aquiline type, very like the South American Indian. Their hair is jet black, smooth, sleek and straight. The men wear their hair quite short, the women rather longer, in some instances down to the shoulder. When I was administrator of St. Vincent I used, from time

to time, to visit the remnants of these people in the Northern end of that island. There were about thirty or forty families of them. They appeared to me to be a simple, careless, happy-go-lucky people, with no particular aim in life except to secure a limited amount of food and drink sufficient to keep life and soul together. The men occasionally worked on neighbouring arrow-root plantations, but their principal occupation was fishing and basket-making, and I found them to be the most skilful and powerful boatmen and canoe-men. The enormous breakers, driven by the prevailing wind, surging in on the northern rocky shores of the island, have no terrors for them. Their physical endurance, in a long pull through rough waters against strong tides, I have never seen surpassed by any race in any part of the world that I have visited. The women employ their time in working on the neighbouring plantations and in their own gardens, and in cooking food for their men-folk and in looking after their children, and their spare time in basket-making at which they are very proficient. If the plantation work be eliminated, these people are probably living the same life as they lived several centuries ago when they first came to these islands. They have no more inclination to mingle with civilisation than they had then. It is true that they no longer speak the language of the Carib and that their only mode of expression is through the English language modified by the local West Indian dialect. It is also the case that the children attend school and that both old and young have a smattering of reading and writing. They also go to church. But with all these attributes of civilisation they are still at heart a primitive people caring nothing for the external world or its troubles or difficulties and only seeking to be left alone to pursue their own simple pursuits and pleasures.

In St. Vincent, as in Dominica, there is a hybrid offspring of the pure or "Red Carib" called the "Black Carib." In the early days of slavery, numbers of the negro slaves in these two islands escaped to the hills. There they intermarried with the Caribs. They lived a lawless, brigand life in the hills, descending from time to time to the valleys to raid the more peaceful inhabitants. There were many expeditions by the planters and their better-behaved slaves against these marauders. Ultimately they were subdued. There are not many descendants because the method of subduing included a measure of extermination, but such as there are live together and in harmony with the other families of pure-blooded Caribs. In facial feature these black Caribs have assimilated the Carib rather than the negro, and the Carib is evidently the stronger strain. In stature they are similar to the Carib, but so far as the hair is concerned, there is a slightly curly tendency about it. In character they are a little more industrious than the red Carib, although this is not saying a great deal! Both the red and the black Carib have the reputation of being very light-fingered.

Before I left St. Vincent I purchased, on behalf of the Government, a small block of land on which to settle what remains of these people who will thus be enabled to continue propagating their race until through the ordinary course of nature they become extinct.

Soon after the European occupation began the want of labour began to make itself felt severely, and the system of slavery, which had been inaugurated by the Portuguese as early as 1481, was adopted by Spain for the West Indies. The Spaniards first imported slaves about the year 1500 to work in the mines of Haiti. In 1517 Charles V. gave the monopoly of the slave trade to a Flemish courtier. Subsequently this monopoly was transferred to certain

merchants of Genoa, who passed it on to the Portuguese. We learn from the history of these times that Sir John Hawkins began slave-trading in 1562 and that that famous sailor and adventurer, Sir Francis Drake, opened up a similar trade about 1568. By this time slave-trading had become a lucrative and "gentlemanly" profession! So regular had this trade become that at the beginning of the eighteenth century 25,000 negroes were annually imported in British ships into the British colonies.

These slaves were all brought from the coastal portions of what is now known as West Africa stretching from the colony of Sierra Leone to the Gold Coast, also from Mozambique on the East Coast of Africa. They were all of the negro race but, owing to the great distances which separated the different centres from which they came, and the tribal systems which existed over that large area, they necessarily differed in character and type. Having visited practically all the West Indian Islands, I have very little doubt that this is so, because the varying features which are to be found to-day amongst their descendants are most marked. The strong local national feeling to be found in the different islands is merely a reproduction of the old tribal instinct. Evidences of this tendency are discernible in every civilised white country, but I have never seen it so highly developed as it is to-day between the negro inhabitants of the various West Indian colonies.

The first motion against the slave trade was made in the British House of Commons in the year 1776, and from that time onwards a definite and earnest agitation started against this nefarious traffic. In 1787 the Society for the Suppression of the Slave Trade was formed and from that time forward Wilberforce and others conducted the active campaign which culminated in the Act of Parliament brought in

at the instance of Lord Grenville, in 1807, to abolish the trade. Although the trade itself was thus declared illegal, slavery still continued. In 1833 another Act of Parliament was passed which abolished slavery. Under this very famous Act it was decided that all slaves in the British colonies were to become free on the 1st August, 1834, but were to be apprenticed to their former owners until 1838, and, in the case of agricultural labourers, until 1840. As compensation to the slave owners in the West Indies, the Cape, and Mauritius, £20,000,000 was voted. The West Indies received £16,640,000 of this amount, about £10,000,000 less than the value of the slaves as appraised by the Commissioners.

I have dwelt at some length upon the various phases of the introduction of slaves into the West Indies because, excluding the Bahamas and Bermuda, about 75 per cent. of the present population of the British West Indies, British Guiana and British Honduras, which aggregates 2,000,000, is of negro slave origin, and that is why the subject with which I have to deal in this chapter is mainly concerned with describing them and their characteristics and their degree of development under British rule and guidance.

After the total abolition of slavery in the British colonies the question of labour became very acute. The negro slaves, freed from their obligations of work, except in so far as were necessary to supply their very meagre wants in a climate where no one is ever really cold, where no fires are required and very few clothes, where the soil is so fertile that it produces by the mere scraping of the surface, where several crops are obtained on the same ground in one year, where the sun always shines, and where the ordinary cares and anxieties of making both ends meet are hardly existent, naturally took advantage of their new-found liberty to do as little as possible. In many

instances, from the servile obedience of the slave, they went to the other extreme and became lawless and refused to obey or to conform to the ordinary rules of a civilised community. On the whole, however, they kept their heads extraordinarily well considering the circumstances. But it was not unnatural that in the commencement as freed men they should only seek work when necessity drove them to it. It is only through the course of years of education and instruction, of learning and of thinking and of competition for existence, that mankind has appreciated what is called the "dignity of labour." The negro slave had none of that learning or education or even competition for existence upon which to base any such idea. To me it is amazing how quickly he has assimilated and is assimilating the idea of the "dignity of labour." It is not more than eighty years ago that he became a free man. To-day in the West Indies the great majority of the negro population work as a matter of course and a very great many of them take pride in the work that they are doing. This is due to education and experience, but it is also owing to the paternal and benevolent British rule which demands of its administrators and officials in the colonies that they shall administer and educate the subject peoples under their care in such a way as to inculcate in them the greatest spirit of self-respect and independence as will render them good citizens of their respective colonies and of the Empire.

As I have just stated, after the abolition of slavery, the question of labour became very acute, and this led to efforts being made to supply the deficiency with free labourers from Hava, Rio and Sierra Leone. These efforts were not permanently satisfactory. Consequently resort was had to India and, as a result of immigration from that country, we have in certain of the colonies large numbers of a race which may

be said like the negroes to have become an indigenous growth. In 1845 the introduction under indenture of East Indians to British Guiana and Jamaica and Trinidad was begun. This immigration continued until 1917, when it was terminated by the Indian Government. To British Guiana and Trinidad this immigration was continued during the whole of that period ; to Jamaica it was of an intermittent nature. Since the termination of the Indenture system endeavours have been made to secure the consent of the Government of India to recommence immigration under a greatly modified system of Indenture to be followed by free settlement, but so far nothing has been achieved, although the climatic and other conditions for Indians in these colonies are admirable. I remember when I was in the West Indies a representative commission arriving there, sent by the Indian Government to investigate the conditions under which the Indian immigrants or their descendants were living. This commission of two—one of whom was a distinguished Indian gentleman, were satisfied that with certain minor adjustable disabilities, the Indian immigrants were well looked after, had the maximum amount of freedom that could be permitted to them during their indenture, were happy, well-fed and, above all, allowed to keep all their own customs and religion. To-day in Trinidad there are about 122,000 of these people ; in British Guiana 125,000 ; in Jamaica 26,000 ; and in St. Lucia 2500. Of these the majority are now free of indenture. They live in village communities which they have formed themselves. They are also interspersed amongst the negro communities. Many of them have become well-to-do and acquired property and wealth : some of them are big merchants, others keep small shops, some of them have become prosperous planters, others own smaller holdings. Many of them are small farmers growing their own

sugar and cocoa crops whilst the remainder act as ordinary labourers. There has been very little inter-marriage between them and their negro neighbours. They regard themselves as springing from a superior race. They invariably retain their own religion and have their own places of worship, both Hindoo and Mohammedan. Wherever they can, they practise their own customs, both women and men dress as they did in India, and on occasions of festivity their villages present a gay and picturesque appearance. They are law-abiding and loyal, although every now and again the agitator class of Indian lawyer tries to upset their confidence in the Government and in those who are employing them. Such troubles that have thus arisen have been short-lived because the Indian, at any rate of the type that has come to the West Indies, is naturally a good and quiet citizen. These people, living as they do, under conditions very much less exacting and competitive than in their own country, are increasing in numbers and are becoming a very important factor in the economic and political life of these colonies. Owing to their different religion and customs and language which they still employ, they are most likely to retain a separate existence in the general community and not to inter-marry with the negroes. In fact there is considerable rivalry between the two races.

The negroes regard themselves as the original inhabitants and the Indians as interlopers who have come to snatch from them the labour which, in their eyes, should rightly belong to them. The negro is by nature only an intermittent worker. The East Indian, on the other hand, is always industrious and therefore a very severe competitor. He is more thrifty than the negro and less inclined to fritter away his earnings in taking his pleasure. I recollect on one occasion being present at an East Indian National Conference

in Trinidad at which one speaker foreshadowed the ultimate absorption of Trinidad by the East Indian races living there to the exclusion of all other nationalities. This caused great irritation amongst the negro and other coloured population. To me it was a sign that, whilst the two races might, under the wisdom of British rule, continue to live alongside each other amicably, they were never likely to blend or to amalgamate into one race. The position as I have outlined it applies more particularly to the island of Trinidad and to British Guiana. In Jamaica it is less accentuated because the number of Indians there is only 26,000, compared with 660,000 inhabitants of negro origin.

In pursuance of the Labour introduction policy, British Guiana and Trinidad received their first consignment of Chinese labourers in the year 1853. This immigration continued until 1867 when, owing to the Chinese Government insisting on a return passage being conceded, their importation was discontinued. Only one other shipload of Chinese arrived in British Guiana after this and that was in 1874. In British Guiana there are to-day just under 3000 Chinese descendants of these immigrants. In Trinidad the number reaches probably not more than 500. In Jamaica, where some shipments were also made in 1854, there are about 4000 left. These Chinese do not live in separate communities like the East Indians nor do they segregate themselves in the same way. The majority of them have not kept their language and only speak English. They have dispensed with pigtails and wear European clothes. They pursue occupations of a varying nature in many walks of life. They have not the same reluctance as the East Indians to inter-marry with the other races, and, if, as is probable, their numbers are not augmented by further immigration from China, I foresee the time

when they will be absorbed in the general population and become a part of the heterogeneous coloured sections of these communities.

From what I have written so far it will be gathered that in the West Indian colonies as they are to-day, the number of natives of aboriginal stock is quite negligible, and that the so-called native races, for the welfare of whom His Majesty's Government are responsible, are composed of the descendants of peoples who have been taken there during the past three or four centuries for labour purposes, the principal proportion of whom are of West African negro origin.

It has always been an axiom that Great Britain has a grave responsibility towards the aboriginal native races of the countries and colonies which from time to time she has annexed. How much greater, therefore, has been her responsibility towards the descendants of native races who, in the pursuit of gain and commerce, have been transferred by British individuals from their own soil to another portion of the globe. That Great Britain has realised and appreciated this responsibility to the full is evidenced by her mode of dealing with these people. We find that in these West Indian colonies, from their very inception almost, forms of representative and elected government were set up under a franchise which at any rate permitted those of the coloured population who had emerged from the ruck to exercise the privilege of democracy. These representative assemblies continued for many years and it was only during the period of extreme economic and financial depression (1860 to 1880), caused by the fall in the price of sugar, that the number of these elected assemblies were reduced and that the Crown Colony form of nominated assemblies was set up in their stead. The mother country then assumed financial control and did

actually contribute directly towards the finances of some of these colonies. The British policy, however, in the West Indies, as in other Crown Colonies and Protectorates, has always been to make a colony pay its own way. Whilst in some respects this has limited the development of the colonies, because funds have not always been available when required, at the same time it has had the advantage of inculcating into the inhabitants a sense of self-reliance and dependence on their own initiative which otherwise would have been lacking. Now that in many of the West Indian colonies they have reached the stage when they understand that policy, the mother country can, as she is doing to-day, come forward without fear of injury to assist the colonies in more rapid development than would otherwise be possible. Incidentally it may be remarked that His Majesty's Government have recognised that the time has arrived when they can again confer upon the West Indian colonies a larger measure of representation and electoral freedom than has been possible since the period of the great depression, and steps are at present in progress to accomplish this aim. The West Indian native and creole (and here I may say that a creole is the generic name for any person born in the West Indies) is, as a rule, the most conservative creature in the world, and does not believe in going too fast. His best known proverb runs, "Softly, softly, catch monkey," and he is very apt to bring the spirit of that proverb into his daily life. Treat him fairly and squarely, with courtesy, and as a man, he will do anything for you and no one of any race will be more faithful or more loyal, and so anybody with conservative instincts, like my own, can view with equanimity the extended electoral privileges which are now being granted in the West Indies. It is unlikely that they will be abused, and, with the wise help and guidance of the

British Governors, administrators, and officials on the spot, and the good sense of the white planters and others who form the rest of the populations, they should prove of great benefit in the continuous development of those colonies.

The principal language of the black people in the British West Indies, and the mainland colonies, of which I am writing, is English (except in two of the colonies, Dominica and St. Lucia, where their language is a French patois), and they can speak, write and think in no other language than English. In all the colonies, including those in which they speak patois, the medium of instruction is English. This has simplified education very much and has enabled the moral influences, which go hand in hand with good education, to impress themselves more readily. In all the colonies there are systems of primary and secondary education. In Barbados there is a college, Codrington College, which gives an even higher form of education and is affiliated to Durham University. Here youths of all denominations and colour are received. This college, it is interesting to note, was founded in 1735 by General Codrington, who was then Governor of Barbados and the Leeward Islands, and has thus been in existence for very nearly 200 years, a tribute indeed to the broadmindedness of a British Governor in an age when nearly everything was rude and repressive. In most of the colonies there is an arrangement under which scholarships are given to British universities under a competitive system. These are open to all individuals, irrespective of colour, and very often are won by members of the black race. As a result of these educational advantages there are in the West Indies representatives of the black and coloured races in practically every profession including the medical and legal professions. Most of the newspapers have either black or coloured editors, and

proprietors, although I must admit that in this direction it has not always led to fairness or evenness in criticism the nature of the black races being somewhat more excitable and easily influenced than that of their white brethren. In some of the colonies there is to-day compulsory education, but even where this does not exist the proportion of children attending school is quite good and shows that, generally speaking, the parents appreciate the advantages which their children derive from attending school. On the other hand it is to be observed that just as in Europe the effect of too much education upon the unfledged mind is apt to create a sort of aversion to the work which mainly lies to their hands, namely, agriculture, so in the West Indies the younger generation growing up is rather inclined to forsake agricultural pursuits and to go into the towns or to South America in order to seek better-paid and more congenial employment. In order to counteract this tendency the Governments have established agricultural departments with expert agricultural instructors attached to them. These instructors go round the country districts and assist the peasants by inspection and advice and there is no doubt that this is doing much good. In addition, more recently an Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture has been started with its headquarters at Trinidad. This college is affiliated to Cambridge and Glasgow Universities, and the Chairman of its Board of Governors is the distinguished Cambridge Professor, Sir Arthur Shipley, G.B.E., M.A., LL.D., etc. This college is supported by the Governments of the West Indies and is now ready to receive undergraduates from the West Indies, from the mother country and any other colony and protectorate that would care to send them. Its object is education and research, and it grants to the West Indian, irrespective of colour, a facility for perfecting himself in tropical

agricultural science such as can be obtained nowhere else.

Whilst up to the time of the abolition of slavery seventy or eighty years ago the land in the West Indian colonies was either Crown lands or divided up into large sugar or other plantations, to-day a very different set of circumstances obtains. Gradually, owing to the freehold basis upon which the lands were held, and to the fact that the black and coloured races have increased in wealth and independence, large tracts of Crown lands have been taken up by small peasant proprietors, and plantations cut up into small holdings. In some instances this has come as the result of private enterprise. In others, the Government, in order to keep the population from emigrating, has had to step in and to purchase the lands and re-distribute them upon a land settlement basis. And wherever this has happened, as it has now in many colonies, it has always led to the contentment of the people and to the reduction in emigration, and incidentally to the increase of the labour supply.

It has been the object of the various Governments to try to hold the just and even balance in this respect between the planter and the peasant, and is one more proof of their realisation of the responsibility they bear towards these black races.

In a number of these colonies steps have been taken to establish co-operative agricultural credit societies. These societies are still in an infant state but they are proving successful and incidentally they are showing that the black peasants, who are the principal shareholders, are capable of co-operation and self-help, and that they value the principle of cheap credit and are ready to take advantage of it even to the extent of sinking their individuality in order to achieve it. But here I should observe that these peasants of negro origin whilst, under guidance, they are able to

give good results, cannot be left to themselves entirely.

In religious matters they are extremely devout and full of faith and great church-goers, but are apt to assume unto themselves an unction of religion. They interlard appeals to the Deity both on behalf or against the person to whom or about whom they are talking, and sometimes their references are most quaint, and their extracts from texts in the Bible most humorously applied. Death has little fears for them and this is so because they have such blind faith in what they read in the Bible and in what they learn from their teachers and religious pastors. I remember one old woman when Her Highness Princess Marie Louise was staying with us in St. Vincent, saying to her, "God bless your highness; I hope you will soon be in heaven with your good queen grandmother, Victoria!"

It is not uncommon for prayer meetings to be held in private houses, and there are few scoffers at religion. As a people they are not always as truthful as they ought to be with their strong religious leanings, but this applies to other races as well. Amongst them they belong to practically all the various Christian denominations. The Church of England is established in all the colonies, so are the Wesleyans and the Roman Catholics. Each is self-supporting, and considering the income of the majority of the congregations they are to be congratulated upon the way they maintain their position. Presbyterianism and the Baptists also have their devotees, but are not so widespread as some of the other sects.

Underlying their religious fervour is a very strong strain of superstition. They are very fearful of evil spirits and believe in the evil eye and similar dangers. The African forest is the breeding ground of many superstitions, and these have been handed down,

if not in the exact form, at any rate in tradition, to their descendants now settled over the seas. Anything of a mysterious nature in religion appeals to them and, if left alone to-day in their present stage of development, many of them would revert to a state in which all sorts of orgies would be possible.

The Obeah man or woman, which is the term for sorcerer or sorceress in the West Indies, has more power and influence than any other individual, and is, therefore, a dangerous person on an estate. Whilst in all the colonies to-day, there is a law against the practice of Obeah, at the same time the natural superstition of the negro—and the awe in which the negroes stand of these wretches, so much do they dread their power and malice—keeps the practice alive. A negro who wishes to be revenged upon another very often has recourse to Obeah. The fatal mixture, like the witches' cauldron in *Macbeth*, is usually a combination of disgusting ingredients, such as a lizard's tail, toad's foot, a mouse's ear, or a piece of wood shaped like a coffin. It is quite a common occurrence, to see some object stuck up in the middle of the pathway at the entrance to a negro garden. The word goes round that this article, whatever it may be, has been Obeah'd, and no negro would dare enter the garden past it for fear of the evil consequences. At night he would give it a wide berth. There is no doubt that the negroes brought their traditional fear of evil spirits with them from Africa and that, whilst formerly in their own country they may have worshipped a good spirit or Great Being, the recollection and practice which has been handed down have been the propitiation of the evil spirits. Even the negroes who are most under the influence of the Church are steeped with this superstition, and there are few, if any of them to-day who are free from it, and who do not believe in the power of Obeah.

None of the coloured or black races of the West Indies are of an intemperate nature so far as strong liquor is concerned. During eight year's residence in the West Indies I recollect seeing very few cases of drunkenness, notwithstanding the fact that in all the colonies rum, a product of sugar and the national beverage, is very easily procurable. Possibly that it is easily and cheaply procurable constitutes the reason why there is not so much temptation to consume it. I recollect a number of years ago there was a Royal Commission inquiring into the supply and consumption of liquor by natives in our West African colonies. I was then at the Colonial Office and it was my duty to have all the records searched to ascertain whether there were any official reports by governors or administrators upon drunkenness amongst the negroes in the West Indies. A most diligent search resulted in not a single report of any kind on this subject being found. Experience thus proves that the native races of the West Indies can, in this respect, subject to ordinary liquor regulations, take good care of themselves.

This chapter would not be complete if I were to omit any reference to the numerous so-called coloured races of the West Indies. These people are the offspring of the whites and the blacks. There are four sub-divisions of them which have become generic in name at any rate. These are "Mulattos," the offspring of a white and black; "Sambos," the offspring of a black and "Mulatto"; "Quadroons," the offspring of a white and a "Mulatto"; "Octaroons," the offspring of a white and a "Quadroon." Owing to the number of races which have contributed to these coloured people there is an endless variety of shades, varying from deep brown to olive. The marked characteristic of the coloured man is that he always aspires to emulate his white progenitors rather than his black ones. He is perhaps more apt to inherit

the vices than the virtues, but the best of them eagerly seek every means of improving their education and their position. I have known many coloured men in the West Indies for whom I have the greatest respect and whose life and actions would compare favourably with those of any European nation. Many of the coloured women are handsome and goodly to look upon. They, like the men, aspire to white companionship, and it is seldom that a respectable coloured woman will consort with or enter into marriage with a negro. Coloured men are to be found to-day in the front rank of business and the professions. They wield a great influence in all walks of life and many of them have seats in the Legislatures of the various colonies. They are to be reckoned with to-day, and will have to be reckoned with more in the future, when, owing to their education, their growing wealth and numbers, and their better ability to withstand the tropical climate, they will compete on a more even basis with their white brethren. But let them not forget to whom they owe their parentage, and further that uninterrupted commercial and scientific intercourse with the more virile and enterprising side of that parentage, will help to keep alive in them the same spirit which actuated their white progenitors in emigrating to these colonies.

Both coloured men and negroes proved their loyalty to the Crown and Empire by volunteering in considerable numbers for active service during the Great War and by proceeding overseas.

In order to afford the reader a better idea of the places in which these peoples pass their lives, I will now give a brief description of each of these colonies. I will first deal with the Islands and then at somewhat greater length with the two American continental colonies of British Guiana and British Honduras. In regard to the latter two colonies I have to thank

Mr. Edgar Beckett, L.F.S., and the Hon. Mathew Murphy respectively for the valuable assistance they have given me. I should like to express my indebtedness also for the great help I have received from Mr. Algernon Aspinall's *Pocket Guide to the West Indies*.

*Jamaica*.—Jamaica is the largest island in the British West Indies, having a total area of 4207 miles, and is situated about 90 miles south of Cuba and 1000 miles to the north-west of Trinidad. Strategically it is of importance to the British Empire because next to Cuba it lies direct in the pathway of the Panama Canal and has ample harbours and bays for naval purposes. Jamaica was discovered by Columbus on the 3rd May, 1494. He called it "Santiajo," after the patron saint of Spain, but it soon reverted to its native name, "Xaymaca," which signifies, "well wooded and watered." Jamaica remained Spanish for 161 years when it yielded on 11th May, 1655, to a British force sent out by Cromwell against the neighbouring island of Haiti. In June, 1670, the British occupation of Jamaica was formally recognised by the Treaty of Madrid. Jamaica has a fascinating history and what schoolboy has not read exciting and bloodthirsty tales of the exploits of the buccaneers from Jamaica. The island became the headquarters of the buccaneers, a daring band of freebooters of all nationalities. They were termed buccaneers because they were in the habit of drying their meat on wooden grills called "boucans." That famous pirate, Morgan, one of their leaders, eventually became Lieutenant-Governor of Jamaica. The island is very mountainous—a main ridge of mountains running east and west—the latter terminating in the east in the famous Blue Mountains, the highest peak of which has an altitude of 7,388 feet. It is related that Columbus, wishing to describe its features to Queen Isabella, took a piece

of paper in his hands, crumpled it up, and threw it on the table.

There are large areas of land at various altitudes well suited for the cultivation of all tropical and sub-tropical products. The main products grown are bananas, sugar-cane, cocoa-nuts and cocoa, also ground provisions such as sweet potatoes, cassava, maize, etc. Oranges, lime, and grape fruit are also grown in large quantities. The total area under cultivation of all kinds is estimated at 1,100,000 acres. There is also considerable cattle and sheep breeding and horse and mule breeding. The total population, according to the 1921 Census, was 858,118. Of these 660,420 are black, 157,223 coloured, 22,999 East Indian, 3700 Chinese, and 14,476 white.

Jamaica has a Legislative Council on which sit fourteen persons elected by the people, one for each parish.

*Trinidad and Tobago.*—The Island of Trinidad is 1862 square miles in size and is situated just off the delta of the South American river, Orinoco. The island is somewhat mountainous and has three distinct ranges of hills running east and west. The highest point is 3075 feet in height. Trinidad was discovered by Columbus on the 31st July, 1498, and was so called by him after the Trinity, an idea put into his mind by sighting three very conspicuous peaks in the southern range of hills, now known as the Three Sisters. In 1783 the population was only 300. By 1797 it had risen to 18,000. In February of that year Trinidad was surrendered to Sir Ralph Abercromby, the cession of the island was confirmed by the Treaty of Amiens in 1802. Trinidad is an extremely fertile island and its soils produce large crops of sugar, cocoa, cocoa-nuts and all kinds of tropical produce. There are about 700,000 acres under cultivation. In addition considerable quantities of crude petroleum is mined

every year and the pitch lake of Berea sends forth its pitchy substance to the United States and Europe to assist in the paving of their streets. There is still a considerable amount of Crown lands ungranted. The population, which at the Census of 1921 was 342,523, is composed of black and coloured people of African descent and families of English, French, Spanish and German extraction. One-third of the inhabitants are of East Indian origin, and total 121,000. The form of constitution of Trinidad is at present Crown Colony Government, but steps are now being taken to give a measure of elected representation in the Legislative Assembly.

*Tobago*, which was annexed to and brought under the direct administration of Trinidad in the year 1889, is an island with a population of 24,000 people, and has a total area of 114 square miles. Like Trinidad it is hilly, the highest point being 1900 to 2000 feet above the sea. It is very fertile and has long and deep valleys, each with its own stream. A large majority of the inhabitants are of negro origin. The chief products are cocoa, cocoa-nuts, coffee and nutmegs. The Island of Tobago has changed hands more often than any other in the West Indies. It was discovered by Columbus in 1498, but the first settlement was effected from Barbados in 1625. It was not finally ceded to England until the year 1814, since which date it has remained a British colony. When first discovered it was an uninhabited island, though traces of Carib settlements have been found in it.

*Barbados*.—Barbados is a small island with a total area of 166 square miles, or slightly larger than the Isle of Wight. It has the distinction of being one of the most thickly populated places in the world, having a population of 156,000, or over 940 per square mile. The island is of coral formation, and, except for the

Parish of St. Andrew, which rises to a height of 1105 feet, it is mainly flat. Barbados was discovered, it is believed, first of all by some Portuguese in the year 1536. They called it Los Barbudos, after the bearded fig-trees which they found there. In 1605 the British took possession of the island. The actual settlement was, however, not effected until twenty-one years later, when Sir William Courteen's ship, *The William and John*, reached Barbados in 1626 with about forty emigrants. Since that date Barbados has always been British, and yields to no one in her loyalty to the British Crown and Empire.

The main and only industry of importance in the island is sugar, and upon this product the fortunes of Barbados have risen and fallen according to its price and the prices of its by-products. The negroes, who form the largest proportion of the population, are the most independent and hard-working individuals of their race in the West Indies. Competition, in an over-populated centre, has taught them the laws of necessity. In search of work they spread through the other West Indian islands, bringing with them their enterprising and independent ways. They are to be found in North America and in South America, and an appreciable portion of the labour which dug the Panama Canal came from this gallant little island. Barbados is the only colony in the British West Indies with responsible government. There is an elected Executive and Legislative Council. The franchise is not a liberal one, but apparently satisfies the people of this island, which is all that matters. There are no malaria mosquitoes, and malaria is unknown, except when it is brought back from other countries. It is one of the healthiest places in the tropics, and generations of white men and women have gone on procreating and retaining their virility and initiative in a way that the tropics seldom produce.

*The Windward Islands*.—The Windward Islands are composed of a group of British colonies consisting of Grenada, St. Lucia and St. Vincent, and the Grenadines, which are dependencies of Grenada and St. Vincent. They are not a federal colony but are grouped under one Governor and Commander-in-Chief for purposes of administration.

*Grenada*.—Grenada, the most southerly of the group, has a total area of 120 square miles. The island was discovered by Columbus in 1498. It was occupied at that time by Caribs. The first settlers were well received by these Caribs but soon quarrelled with them, and with the aid of reinforcements from Martinique they were exterminated. On the northern coast is situated the Morne des Sateurs, where many of the Caribs leapt into the sea in order to escape from their enemies. The island changed hands between French and British a number of times, and it was not until the year 1783 that it was finally ceded to Great Britain. The island is very mountainous and the beauty of its scenery is remarkable. Its highest point is 2749 feet. It is very fertile and is entirely dependent for its prosperity on agriculture. Cocoa is the principal product, sugar being very little grown. A small amount of cotton is cultivated in the neighbouring Grenadines and this gives occupation to a limited number of negro peasants.

The climate is healthy and the mean temperature about 80 degrees. The population is 59,864, or 493 to the square mile. It is comprised mainly of peasants of negro origin. Grenada possesses many negro peasant proprietors. It has been a consistent policy on the part of the local Government for many years to encourage a system of small holdings.

*St. Lucia*.—St. Lucia is 233 square miles in size and has a population of 50,000, mostly of negro origin with a few East Indians. The peculiarity of this negro

population is that they almost invariably employ a French patois for communication amongst themselves. They are, however, taught English in the schools. The island was discovered by Columbus in 1502 on St. Lucy's Day—hence its name. It possesses one of the finest small harbours in the West Indies and is a naval coaling station. The French and British struggled for its possession for two centuries, and it was only in 1814 that it was finally ceded to Great Britain. The island is volcanic and consequently very mountainous. The scenery is magnificent, and the soil most fertile. The principal agricultural industries are sugar, cocoa, coffee, limes, nutmegs, and cocoa-nuts. In addition, the capital town of Castries is an important mercantile coaling station. The opening of the Panama Canal has unfortunately had a depressing effect upon the coaling trade.

*St. Vincent*.—St. Vincent is an island with an area of 140 square miles and a population of 50,000, the bulk of which is of negro origin. There is also a Carib settlement which I have described earlier in this chapter. The island was discovered by Columbus on the 22nd January, 1498, St. Vincent's Day—hence its name. It changed hands between the French and the English on several occasions, but was finally ceded to Great Britain in 1783. The whole of the island is of volcanic origin and is consequently mountainous. At the northern end is the Souffriere, a volcano 3500 feet high, which erupted in May, 1902, and devastated nearly one-third of the island, killing 2000 persons. This volcano has erupted three times during the last 300 years, so if its emissions continue to be of so regular a character it should not erupt again for sixty to seventy years at least. The climate is healthy, the temperature varying from 60°F. to 88°F. The principal industries are arrowroot and cotton; a certain amount of sugar and cocoa is also

grown. The sea-island cotton grown in St. Vincent is the finest in the world, and fetched, during the late war as much as 8s. per lb. of lint.

*Leeward Islands*.—The Leeward Islands are a British colony consisting of the Presidencies of Antigua, Dominica, Montserrat, St. Kitts and Nevis, and the Virgin Islands, which were federated by an Act of the Imperial Parliament in 1871. Their total area is 704 square miles. Antigua is the seat of Government.

*Antigua*.—Antigua has an area of 108 square miles and a population of 28,864, the great majority of whom are of negro origin. The island is flattish in appearance and admirably suited for sugar cultivation, which is the principal industry. The rainfall is the smallest in the West Indies and uncertain, the average being as low as 46 inches. The soil, however, is very retentive and the sugar crops thrive well in spite of the small rainfall. Antigua was discovered by Columbus in 1493 and has been British since 1632.

*Dominica*.—Dominica has a total area of 291 square miles and a population of 37,000, most of whom are of negro origin. It is very mountainous and well watered and is said to have 365 rivers which teem with fish. The rainfall reaches 300 inches in the year, although the average is 100 inches. The climate is healthy. The principal industries are lime, cocoa and cocoa-nuts. It should be admirably suited for banana cultivation. The island was discovered by Columbus in 1493 and, after changing hands between the French and the English, finally became British in 1782, after Rodney had inflicted severe defeat on the French fleet under de Grasse in that memorable sea fight. There are still many Crown lands for sale in this island but the lack of labour is a difficulty.

*St. Kitts and Nevis*.—St. Kitts and Nevis form one Presidency but are two islands, St. Kitts being 68 square miles in extent with a population of 22,400,

whilst Nevis is 38 square miles, with a population of 11,500. Both islands are volcanic and mountainous. St. Kitts is given over almost entirely to the cultivation of sugar and cotton on a plantation basis. There is a large central factory which manufactures practically the whole of the sugar crop of the island. Nevis, on the other hand, is occupied mainly by small negro peasant proprietors who have great difficulty in making enough to subsist upon. It was in Nevis that Alexander Hamilton, the great American statesman, was born. It was in Nevis also that Nelson wooed and married his wife, Mrs. Nisbet. The entry in the church register reads as follows:—"1787, March 11th, Horatio Nelson, Esq., Captain of His Majesty's Ship, the *Boreas*, to Frances Herbert Nisbet, widow."

Both St. Kitts and Nevis were discovered in 1493, and after changing hands eleven times were finally ceded to Great Britain by the Treaty of Versailles in 1783.

*Montserrat*.—Montserrat is a small island of 33 square miles in extent with a population of 12,000 souls, principally of negro origin. The peculiarity of these islanders is that they speak with an Irish brogue which is traceable to the fact that in the seventeenth century the island was almost entirely peopled by Irish. The principal industries of the island are sea-island cotton, limes and a small quantity of sugar. The island was discovered by Columbus in 1493 and was finally ceded to Great Britain in 1782.

*The Virgin Islands*.—The British Virgin Islands are a small group of islands and islets situated about 60 miles eastward of Porto Rico. They have a total area of 58 square miles and a population of 5100, probably all of negro origin. The peasantry who own and cultivate the land in the Virgin Islands, grow sea-island cotton, raise cattle and catch fish. A small lime industry has already been established.

These islands were discovered by Columbus in 1493 and in 1666 were annexed to the Leeward Islands in a Commission granted by Charles II. to Sir William Stapleton.

*The Bahamas.*—The Bahamas, whose inhabitants do not regard themselves as belonging to the West Indies proper, consist of a chain of coral islands with a total area of 4403 square miles. They include 29 inhabited islands and over 3000 islets and rocks. The principal island is New Providence, of which the capital is Nassau. Their total population is 53,000, principally of negro origin. Nassau is a great centre for American tourists and has become even more so since the introduction of Prohibition in the United States! The chief industry is sponges, of which the annual export approximates £150,000. In addition there is an export of sisal, tomatoes and pineapples. The pineapple industry has latterly languished owing partly to the keen competition of Cuba and Hawaii, whose fruit is protected by the United States tariff.

The Bahamas were discovered by Columbus in 1492, who landed on what is now known as Watlings Island, this being his first landfall in the New World. The original inhabitants, who were called Lucayans, were indolent and were soon exterminated by the Spaniards. In 1670 the Islands were granted by Charles II. to the Duke of Albemarle and others who, however, surrendered them again to the Crown on October 27th, 1717. The colony became one of the chief haunts of the buccaneers and was frequently raided by the Spaniards. It was not until 1784 that the Islands finally became British. In this year the population of the colony was more than doubled by the arrival of Loyalists from Georgia and Carolina with their slaves.

*Bermuda.*—The Bermuda Islands are not in the West Indies, but the justification for including them

in this chapter is that they shared to some extent in the settlement of negro slaves in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, and that part of the population consists of descendants of these people. They consist of a group of about 300 small islands of about 19 square miles in extent. The principal island is known as the Main Island. The islands are situated 667 miles to the east of New York. They are much frequented by American tourists who flock there to the number of many thousands every year. The total local population is 20,000, of which one-third is white, the remainder being coloured. The climate is delightful and for eight months of the year (excepting June, July, August and September), in my opinion, is superior to that to be found upon the French Riviera. The islands are all of coral formation. There is excellent bathing, fishing, boating, riding and golf. The principal exports are onions, potatoes, other vegetables and lily bulbs, all of which are exported to the United States of America.

The Bermudas are believed to have been discovered in 1515 and have always been British. It is the headquarters for naval purposes of the North American and British West Indies Station, and is usually garrisoned by British infantry and artillery. There is responsible government and it is the proud boast of the House of Assembly of Bermuda that next to the House of Commons it is the oldest legislative body of the kind in the British Empire.

*British Honduras* has been aptly described as a "Colony of Colonies." Its inhabitants have descended from ancestors of various races, and even to-day they tend to establish themselves in well defined communities.

The geographical position of this colony has offered every inducement to the inhabitants of the neighbouring South American Republics of Guatemala

and Spanish Honduras to enter within its gates and settle. The British Government about 1796, history relates, deported the warlike Caribs from the West Indian island of St. Vincent to the island of Ruatan, off Spanish Honduras, whence they crossed to the mainland and from this race line descended the Caribs found in the colony to-day. They are the descendants of the Carib of the West Indies and the negro. The aboriginal inhabitants of the colony were the Maya Indians, who are the ancestors of most of the Indian settlers in the interior of the colony.

Probably about the thirteenth century the Mayas repeopled the colony returning from Yucatan, whither for reasons not established they had migrated about the sixth century. The Maya race threatens to become extinct as the death rate greatly exceeds the birth rate. In a manner the aristocrat among the natives of the colony, the Mayas have established definite communities and have little or no intercourse with the other native races within the colony. In addition to the Caribs and Maya Indians there are the natives of mixed Spanish and Indian blood, descendants of the inhabitants of Yucatan, who were driven from Mexico during the Indian rebellion of 1848-49, and finally, to complete this brief note on the sociological history of the colony, mention must be made of the alien population from the Republics of Honduras and Guatemala, of the small white population derived from Great Britain and America, of the negro and allied races who are the descendants of the ancient white settlers in the colony and their slaves, and of the natives from the other West Indian colonies. The bulk of the population which at the Census of 1921 was shown to be 45,000 souls is of persons of the negro and coloured races. The natives of the colony are peaceful law-abiding, and industrious, following their pursuits either as hewers of timber or tillers of

the soil, or rendering service in the skilled or unskilled trades. They avail themselves of the means of obtaining a fairly sound primary education provided by the various religious denominations and the local Government, and are an intelligent body of beings. Sparsely populated with an area of 8000 square miles as is the colony, and with practically no lines of communication away from the coast line, it is not to be wondered at that education within the colony is not of that high standard found in some of the other West Indian colonies. The natives of the colony are not of intemperate habits as has been erroneously stated in a recent publication, but are in the main thrifty and ambitious. Several have risen to positions of trust and responsibility both in the local Civil Service and business community, a testimony to the impartial administration of colonies under British rule. The native is of religious disposition and the several religious denominations are earnest in their endeavours to improve morals and uplift the peoples.

All religious sects enjoy complete liberty. The Roman Catholic Church has the largest membership, followed in relative order by the Church of England and the Wesleyan Church. There are also the Baptist and Presbyterian Churches and the ubiquitous Salvation Army has within recent years raised its standard in the colony. Nearly the entire Indian and Carib population are members of the Roman Catholic Church. Finally the natives of British Honduras are second to none in their loyalty to the British Crown, and contributed during the Great War several hundreds of youths of fine physique for service with the forces of the Allies overseas. They were tried and not found wanting.

*British Guiana*.—British Guiana is 90,000 square miles in extent, has a population of 326,000, and is situated on the northern coast of South America.

Whether the first settlers came from Mexico or Yucatan or not, it is a fact that when white settlers visited Guiana, the aboriginal Indians were adepts at preparing bread from cassava (*Manihot Utilissima*), were able to dispel the hydrocyanic acid with which this plant is steeped, and knew how to prepare intoxicating liquor from it. They were good potters, were skilled in weaving hammocks, and fashioned many beautiful implements from stone, both for domestic and warlike purposes. The blowpipe, with its deadly darts tipped with Urali poison, was in use and they had some knowledge of agriculture.

The aborigines are to-day scattered all over the colony in small families, up the rivers and creeks and on the far-off Brazilian boundary. They are estimated to number in all between 13,000 and 14,000. In appearance they remind one of the Japanese, with the exception that their smooth skins are mostly copper-coloured. There is the same broad face, black hair, and Mongolian type of features. They are very deep-chested and muscular, and, though of small stature, they own thick, well-shaped legs, their hands and feet being strikingly small. In disposition the "Buck" is particularly gentle and is well-mannered to a remarkable degree. Even those that might be considered "uncivilised" are gentle and amiable—there is nothing of the "savage" about any of the aboriginal Indians to-day. They are magnificent boat-hands; quietly and courteously they assist the white traveller in his journeys in the wild Interior. They very seldom argue or quarrel—if their employers treat them badly, they simply quietly disappear and leave the would-be bullies stranded in the "Bush." They think nothing of abandoning all their wages under conditions such as these.

It is true that the belief in "Kanaimas" or Evil Spirits, still exists, and that in some remote parts of

the colony the "Peai" or Medicine Man still has an influence over them, and he is consulted when it is necessary that the Evil Spirits should be propitiated. The Indian believes that the Good Spirit will never do him any harm, so that it is not necessary to fear him, but that the Evil Spirit must be feared and propitiated as he is always willing to harm. It is the Peai Man whose work it is to drive away the Evil Spirit. But even in the farthest reaches of the Interior the influence of Christianity has made itself felt and there are few Indians now who are not Christians or who have not come under the influence of Christian teachers.

A vice the Indian possesses is the love of drink. They themselves make an intoxicating liquor from Cassava, known as Paiwari, and another drink fermented from sweet potatoes, called Cassiri, and on certain and special occasions both men and women indulge in vast quantities of the horrible beverage, until they become quite intoxicated. This weakness of the Indian is known to the Authorities, and it is an offence against the law to sell intoxicating liquors of any kind to an aboriginal Indian.

There is a Protector of Indians and Sub-Protectors scattered throughout the colony. Large areas of forest lands are set aside as Indian Reservations and they, of course, are not subject to taxation of any kind. So they live their quiet, peaceful lives happily enough. Missionaries speak their languages, but numbers of the Indians speak English and speak it with a delightfully gentle cadence.

In the low-lying coastlands are located the Warrans ; the Caribs, Acawois and Macusis are mostly to be found in the upper reaches of the rivers, the Macusis being chiefly on the distant Rupununi savannahs and it is they who make the famous "woarali" or "Urali" poison. In the Rupununi savannahs live

builders of the interior, just as the Warrans are the corial builders near the coast.

The Arawaks generally are found on the lower reaches of the rivers. They are highly civilised, and some of them who have an admixture of Spanish blood are strikingly handsome. All Arawaks wear European clothes, are splendid wood-cutters and timber squarers as well as excellent boat-hands.

Though a number of the aborigines read and write English in many instances quite well, they have never entered the learned professions ; they, as a rule, do not make good domestic servants, the call of the Great Forest is in their blood and they usually return to their happy forest-life. The dress of the tribes in the far-off Interior consists of the ordinary "lap," while the women wear a tiny apron, called a "queyu," generally made of various coloured beads—each tribe having its own design or pattern. At the time of feasts the men wear very handsome crowns of feathers differing in shape and pattern according to the tribe. The women of some tribes, in addition to the "queyu," wear cotton strips just above the ankle and below the knee tightly bound, with the result that their calves are swelled out to an abnormal size. It is very rare, however, that an Indian is seen in his native dress as most of them now wear European shirts and trousers. In the forests, unclad as they are, they never appear "naked" but seem to harmonise naturally with the surrounding forests. Necklaces made of the teeth of jaguar, wild hogs, etc., are frequently seen.

Only a few are tattooed, and then it is only a tribal mark, though often enough lines of scars are observable on the arms and thighs. These are called "beenas." The body is scratched or cut and the acrid juice of various caladiums is rubbed into the wound. Certain species of calladium are used as a charm for hunting,

some for love, and so forth. They paint their bodies on occasion with anatto (*Bixa crellana*) and sometimes blue-black lines from the dye of the lana (*Genipa Americana*) are found on the bodies of Savannah Indians.

The Caribs and Wapisians sometimes wear crescent or round-shaped nose-pieces, while one tribe is adorned by means of two large European pins sticking through the underlip.

Each family lives by itself, they are moral, well-conducted, proud and appreciate the kindness they have met at the hands of the British.

It was in Guiana that the gallant Sir Walter Raleigh hoped to find the wonderful city of Eldorado and that the door of Romance was opened. He and his captains, all mighty men of valour, voyaged far up the rivers in their quest for the City of Gold. Raleigh's publications excited others, and settlers from Holland were found in the Pameroon as long ago as the closing scenes of the sixteenth century. It was, however, not until 1621 that the famous Dutch West India Company received its Charter. By this Charter the company was allowed to occupy the Guianas amongst other places. About 1740, colonisation began in earnest. Slavery was now soon in full swing and cargoes of negro slaves were introduced from the Congo and West Africa.

Towards the close of the eighteenth century the colonies of Essequibo, Berice and Demerara (the three counties of Guiana) were captured by the British, only to be handed over to the French shortly afterwards, and back again to the Dutch, to be finally ceded to Great Britain at the Great Peace of 1815. In 1807 a check was given to the Slave Trade, and when finally in 1838 the negroes were all given their freedom, the planters found themselves ruined.

The ex-slaves, settled more or less happily on their

own lands, naturally refused to work on the plantations and grew their own crops on their village lands. Trenches were full of fish, and ground provisions could be obtained with the minimum amount of labour—the result was that the planters were driven to their wits' end to find a reliable source of labour to supply their estates. Naturally, their thoughts turned to the importation of labour. Portuguese from Madeira were introduced, a few attempts at other nations were tried, then Chinese were sought after, until, finally, under a system of indenture, large numbers of East Indians were brought over. These saved the situation, and were the only satisfactory labouring class so far as the sugar estates were concerned.

The East Indians, originally imported from India, and their descendants, represent about 40 per cent. of the population. They are from Calcutta, Madras, far-off Bhotan and Cashmere and other parts of India. They are the agricultural backbone of the colony. As a rule they keep to their national dress and customs. They form a splash of colour and give an Eastern atmosphere to Guiana. A visit to a market-place on a Saturday afternoon, or any sugar estate, recalls the bazaars of the East. The women, smothered in jewellery, carry their "black-eyed babies athwart their hips"; in every direction are "traders sitting cross-wise" amongst their grain; on all sides is the "war of words to cheapen this or that," while all around are prowling dogs. The Hindu has his milch-cow always, and he is the great vendor of milk for city, town and village. Hard-working, filled with a nervous and sinewy strength, they are capable of an endurance that no one looking at their often fragile bodies would think they could possess. They are determined to save money, and by means of thrift and self-denial, they have been able to educate their children, so that, as the years have gone by,

there are to be found in this polyglot population, East Indian doctors, lawyers, deacons and priests.

They are under the protection of the Immigration Agent-General, and throughout the three counties are immigration agents, to whom the East Indian goes when he is in any difficulty or trouble, and here he is always dealt with sympathetically and kindly, by men whose business it is to know something of the queer workings of the Eastern mind. Under the guiding hand of Great Britain, we find that none of the numerous races has been neglected.

The blacks are the descendants of slaves, or of labour imported from Africa, after slavery was abolished. They form some 39 per cent. of the total population, but they are the very backbone of the mining and forest industries. It is to the sturdy black that we owe the winning of the latex of the balata tree (*Mimusops globosa*), which is so extensively used in cable belting and other manufactures. It is the black man who, by his pluck and endurance, has conquered the many difficulties that beset the seekers of gold and precious stones. It is his labour which has won the gold and diamonds from the Interior. It is he who is the mainstay in the timber industry, using both brains and sinews in this work. It is true that often he returns to town or village when he has had a successful nine or ten months amidst the hardships of the forests and proceeds to drive in motor-cars and smoke cigars, and have what he considers a thoroughly good time, but this trait after all is not unknown amongst other nations. Many however are becoming wiser and, here and there, decent cottages are springing up, built with the money so dearly earned. Excessive hard work at intervals seems to be the characteristic of the average Black in British Guiana.

They furnish all the artisans, they are the mechanics,

chauffeurs, engine-drivers. They are fond of dress and attach great importance to their "outward habit." They are very ambitious, extremely keen on their books, and sacrifice things most dear to them to be able to satisfy this actual craving for knowledge. They are the Government schoolmasters and dispensers. Some of them possess remarkable ability, and the learned professions have quite a number of negro gentlemen on their lists. There are K.C.'s, medical men of good ability—all negroes or of negro descent. They are the reporters of the local newspapers, compositors, proof-readers and the like. They are good book-keepers and seem always to be aiming at improving themselves. They are keenly interested in local politics, possibly too much so, and they exercise their right to the franchise. Negro gentlemen sit in the Legislative Council.

The girls form the domestic class and usually make excellent maids and cooks. They are filled with the utmost good-nature and though quick to anger are kindly. They are extremely kind to each other, and any sign of trouble or distress earns from them quick sympathy. They are sensitive about their colour; they are a humorous and light-hearted people. They have a wealth of proverbs all their own, and, though apathetic, they are by no means lazy. "God will provide" is their panacea for all trouble.

The Chinese are most exemplary citizens; they own large jewel stores, are merchants on a considerable scale, and many are interested in the diamond and forest industries. Both in Georgetown and New Amsterdam they have their own places of worship and are nearly all Anglicans.

It will thus be seen that this polyglot population of Guiana dwells peacefully and happily, learning the one from the other, bearing and forbearing—all happy and contented under the British flag.

Out of their faults, we have moulded them to something far superior to what they were when their ancestors landed penniless on the shores of Guiana.

In this "working-day world" there are many "briers," yet we can feel satisfied that the burden of the white man has been shouldered and well-carried in this, the only British possession in South America.



Arms of Bermuda.

Badge of British Guiana.

Badge of Bahama Islands.



# THE BIBLE IN THE EMPIRE



CHAPTER XVI  
THE BIBLE IN THE EMPIRE  
BY  
THE REV. EDWIN W. SMITH  
*Literary Superintendent of the British and Foreign  
Bible Society.*

THE British Government's proclamation issued in 1763, forbidding the purchase of lands from North American Indians except under stringent safeguards, marked the adoption of a new attitude towards the rights and claims of backward races within the Empire. It opened the new era which culminated in the declaration of 1923 in regard to Kenya and other East African territories. Between these dates the conviction gradually grew and intensified that the trusteeship exercised on behalf of native peoples includes the duty of sharing with them, and of fitting them to share, the best things in the heritage of the dominant race. Among these best things the Bible holds a pre-eminent position.

In 1763 the Empire was confined within the British Isles, Gibraltar, Minorca, Newfoundland, the North American colonies east of the Mississippi and along the St. Lawrence, some West Indian islands, a few trading posts in West Africa, and the territories controlled by the East India Company—Bengal, Bombay, and Madras. For the peoples living within these bounds the Bible had been translated into eight languages. Six of these were European: English,

Welsh, Irish, Manx, French, and Spanish. The earliest version of the Bible in a language of India, namely Tamil, had been made by Danish missionaries. As early as 1663 John Eliot, a missionary of the New England Company, had translated the Bible into the tongue of the Massachusetts Indians, a language which has now died out. In 1763 no version had yet been made for any of the 45,000,000 Africans now gathered within the Empire.

The foundation in 1700 of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel had heralded those great Protestant missionary movements which were to have such influence over the development of the Empire, and were to carry the Bible throughout the Empire and beyond. But in 1763 William Carey, "the father of modern missions," was only two years old, while Captain Cook had not yet sailed on the first of his voyages into the southern seas which were to have such an effect in stimulating the missionary movement.

We leap over 160 years. The Holy Scriptures have now been translated, either entire or in part, into 366 languages and dialects spoken within the Empire. By the addition of Gaelic, Italian, and Maltese, the European versions have increased from six to nine. Of the rest, 14 are for Asia, outside India; 102 are for India; 143 are for Africa; 25 for America; and 73 for Australasia and Oceania. Of this total about twenty-five versions are not actually in use to-day, because the peoples for whom they were prepared have either died out or have adopted other languages. There are translations for highly civilised Orientals, as well as for backward tribes of Africa and the South Seas; for the 82,000,000 of Hindi-speaking peoples, and for other Indian groups each numbering over 10,000,000, as well as for Pacific Islanders who sometimes number no more than 1000. Some non-European versions are in highly elaborate languages such as

Sanskrit and Arabic ; others are for peoples for whom moral and religious terms had to be invented or introduced. The range of these 366 versions extends from within the Arctic Circle, through the tropics to the farthest islands of the Pacific. Of the total population of the Empire, 450,000,000, it is estimated that 350,000,000 now possess at least some part of the Bible in their mother-tongue ; in other words, seven out of every nine British subjects might, if they were able, read the Scriptures. It is necessary to insert this qualification because a large proportion are illiterate : in British India, for example, only 18,000,000 can read and write out of 247,000,000.

Perhaps in not more than fifty of these languages did any literature exist before the advent of Christian missions. The great majority had never been reduced to written form ; their names and existence were unknown in Europe. In many of them, indeed, the Bible, or some part of it, is still the only book other than school primers. Translators of the Scriptures have also compiled grammars and dictionaries, and this alone, apart from the religious and moral effects of their work, represents an enormous contribution to the science of philology and to the art of administration. The 366 versions are printed in no fewer than twenty-nine alphabets, some of them very ancient, others invented for the purpose. The extension of the printing-press and of education is bound up with that of the Bible.

In this great enterprise Protestant missionaries have played by far the greatest part, but Government officials and commercial men have also taken their share. The chief organisation which has directed the efforts of translators and published the results is the British and Foreign Bible Society, founded in 1804. From that year we must date the vast extension of the Bible through the Empire and beyond.

The number of versions mentioned would be considerably increased were we to add all those required by immigrants into Canada. Most European and several Asiatic languages are spoken among them. It is no uncommon occurrence for the Bible Society's representatives during a single season to distribute the Scriptures in twenty-five languages among the newcomers at Canadian ports of entry. It is for such immigrants especially that diglot versions, with the English and vernacular texts side by side, are supplied.

From an Imperial standpoint the importance of this work is obvious. Common ideals are the surest foundation of the British Commonwealth. And we are helping to lay that foundation, where we make the Bible—which is our common standard of Christian truth and conduct—a possession of all subjects of the King.

## SPECIMENS OF TRANSLATIONS

ILA (CHILA). N. Rhodesia.

Ukuti Leza bodia mbu akufwine lundu chinichini, walupa Mwanakwe ushimuzhalwaiche, kuti umwi umwi umushoma atabi ni awfididila, pele abe o bumi buteedi.

## ZULU (ISIZULU). Zululand and Natal.

Ngoba uNkulunkulu wa wu tanda umhlaba kangaka, ngangoba wa pa ngeNdodana yake ayizalayo e yodwa, ukuba wonke o kolwa iyo a nga bubi, a be nokupila okumiyo njalo.

SUTO (SESUTO). Basutoland, &c.

Hobane Molimo o ratile lefatše hakalo, o bile oa le nea Mora oa oona ea tsoetsoeng a 'notši ; hore e mong le e mong ea lumelang ho eena, a se ke a timela, a mpe a be le bophelo bo sa feleng.

## NIUE. Savage Island, Cook Islands.

Nukua pihia e fakaalofa mai he Atua ke he lalolagi, kua ta mai ai hana Tama fuataha, kia nakai mate taha ne tua kia ia, ka kia moua e ia e moui tukulagi.

CREE : MOOSE DIALECT. Moose Fort, Hudson Bay,  
Canada.

•ኋና የገዢዎን ማኋላም እናዚ ልማርናው, የ ገጋብናው  
በ ሁሉፊርማ ማፈሩና, ገጋብናው ላይ ልማርናው እና የገዢ-  
ናው ማፈሩና ማፈሩና ማፈሩና ማፈሩና, ለጋብናው የገዢ-  
ናው ለጋብናው ማፈሩና ማፈሩና ማፈሩና

ଓঠাৰী জিৰ পুৰোচন আগতী কৰ মে-  
 ক পিছৰা জৰুৰ হৰি জিৰ কুৰি দৰবৰ্জ কেলৈ  
 পুৰু হৰি মুৰি জিৰ কৰ জৰুৰ উৱা পুৰি দিগ-  
 ধৰণ ল'ৰ হ'ল ক'ৰণ ১ হ'ৰ পুৰি দৰবৰ্জ আবিৰা  
 প'ৰ।

1884

## TIBETAN.

1913

### HAUSA (Arabic char.)

دُوْهِبْنُوا حَكَنَنْ أَلَّهُ يَسُوْدُونِيَا هَرَدَى يَبَادَ  
دَنَسَ مَا كَدَيْتُ دُوْهِنْ دُكَ وَنَدَ يَبَادَ غَسِّكِيَا دَشِ  
نَكَدَ شَبَتَ أَهَّا رَى مَتَرَتَ أَغَرِشَ •  
1899

1899

## BURMESE.

1912

BODO, OR MECHI.

Dooars, E. Bengal.

માનવા ક્રેશ્ટા છનાદેસં માટેથા એછાપ સ્વબાહે બે  
વિશ્વ ગાંડેનિ જાછેવાન જાણીનાટેન પિશાછાનાટેથા દાન-  
દ્વાહે, યેન સાફુમ્બુ વિનિયાંડે વિશ્વાસ થ્યામથા બસે યાનાહે  
બજા, થિનુથુ ઇવરુદ્ધા ઠોંનાહેથો ગુનગન।

1914

GUJARATI.

Gujarat, Etc., W. India.

કેનકે દેવે જગત પર એટલી પૂરીતિ ધીરી કે  
તેણુ પોતાનો એકાંકીલનિત દ્વિકરે આપ્યો  
એ સારુ કે, જે કોઈ તેના પર વિશ્વાસ કરે તેનો  
નાશ ન થાય, પણ તે અન્ત છુંન પાને.

1908

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British and Foreign Bible Society.*

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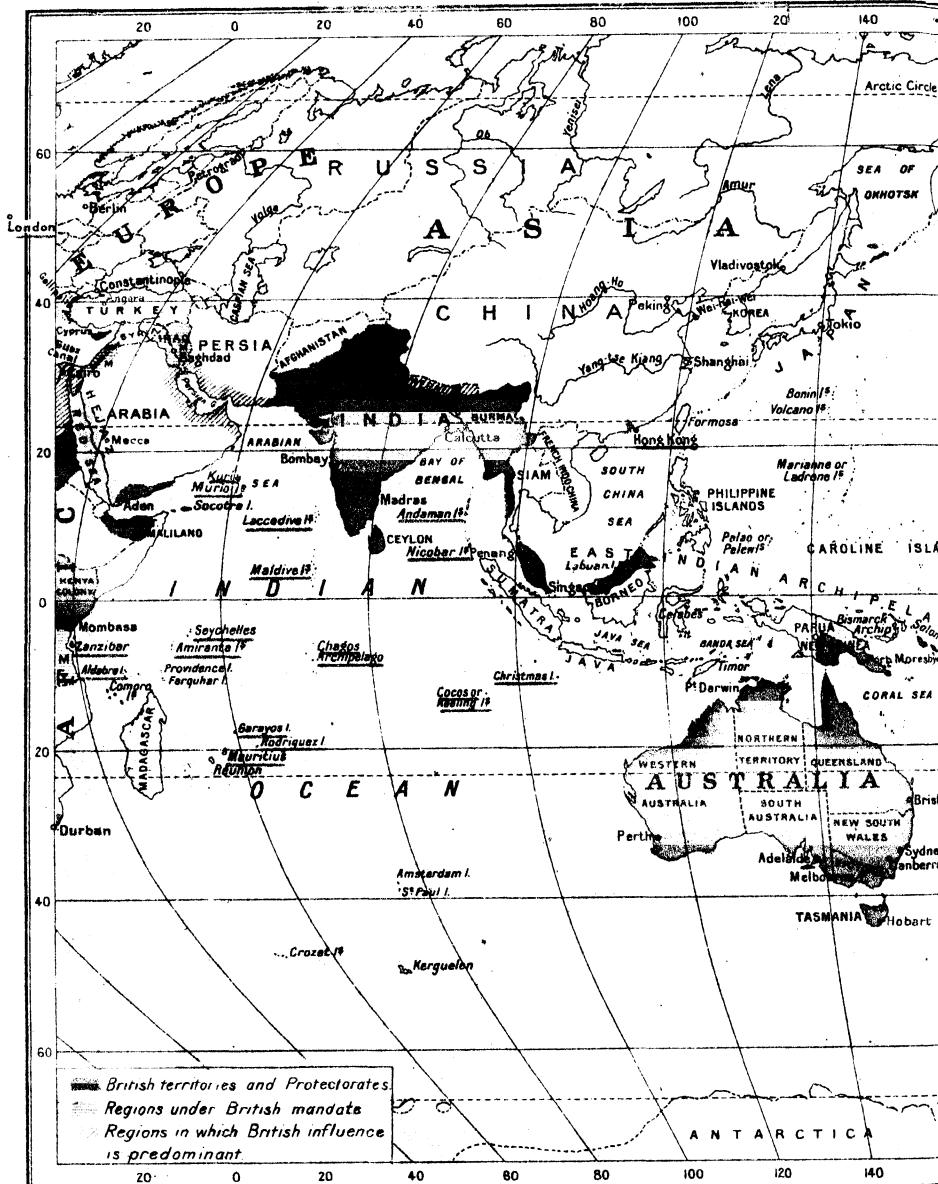




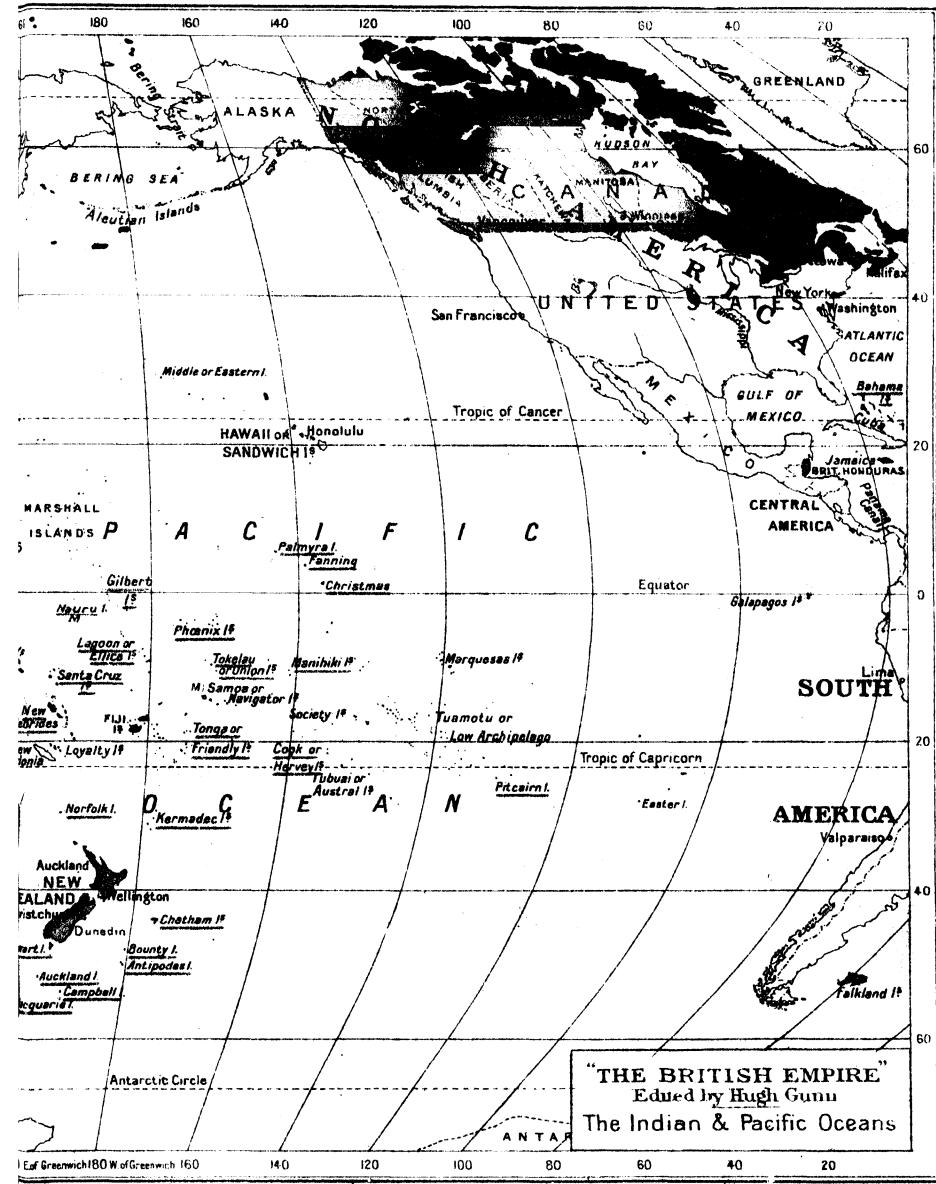








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